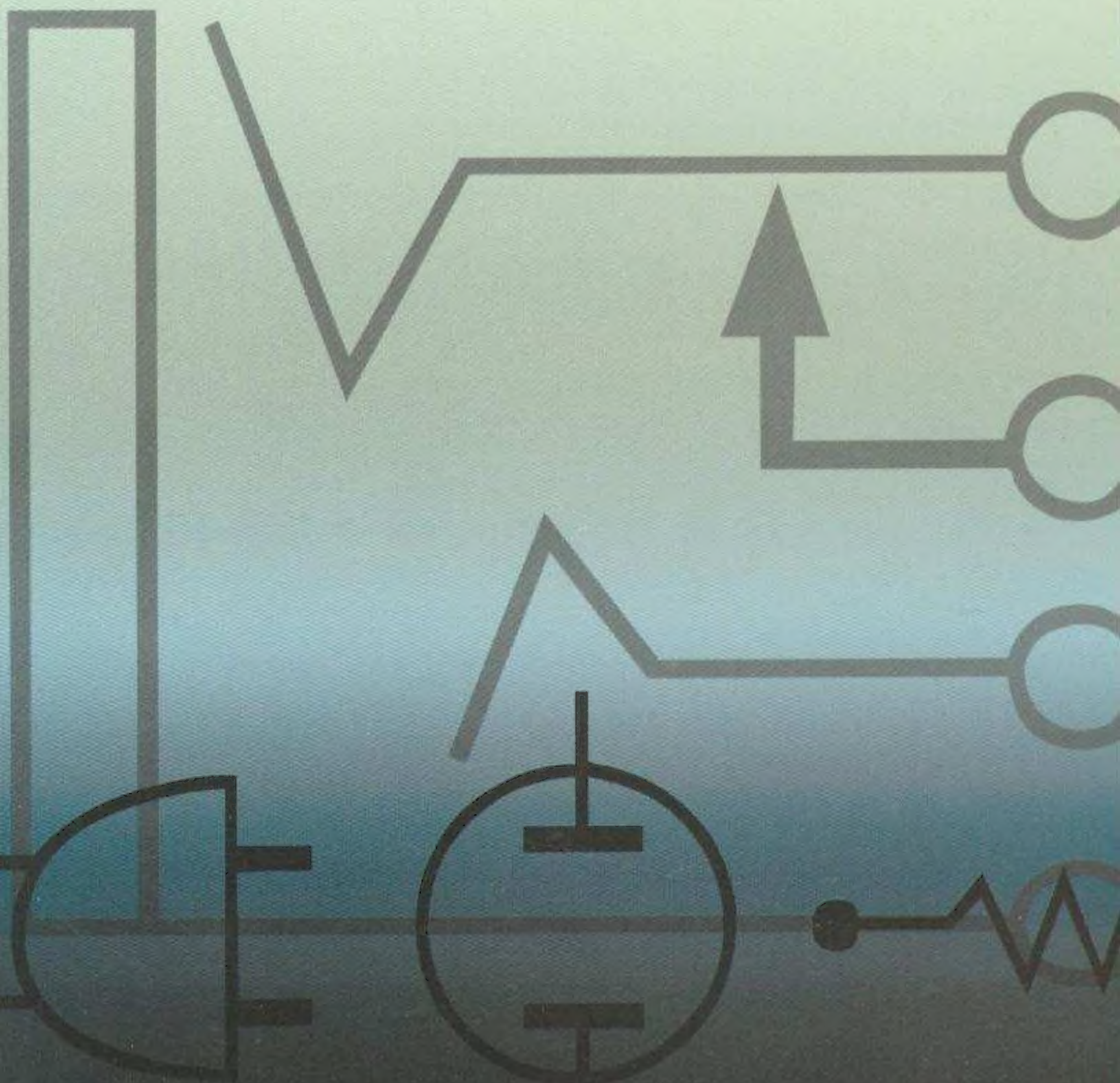


the way to the REVIVAL of the muslim ummah

ABDEL HAMID HASAN EL-GHAZALI

THE WAY TO

THE REVIVAL OF THE MUSLIM UMMAH

A Study of the Thinking of Imam al-Banna

Abdel Hamid H. El-Ghazali

AL-FALAH FOUNDATION
For Translation, Publication & Distribution

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The translation of the meaning of the Qur'anic verses quoted in the text is taken from Dr. Muhammad Taj ad-Din al-Hilali and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan's *Interpretation of the Meaning of the Noble Qur'an* .

Prepared and translated by: **Al-Falah**
Edited by: **Umm Faruq Cook & Reima Yousif Shakeir**
Cover designed by: **Xadijah Garrett**
Al-Falah Director: **Muhammad `Abdu**

Published by:
AL-FALAH FOUNDATION FOR TRANSLATION,
PUBLICATION & DISTRIBUTION
24 At-Tayaran st., Nasr City,
Cairo, Egypt
Tel. & fax: 2622838
E-mail: falah@link.net

ISBN: 977-5813-88-3
رقم الإيداع: ٢٠٠٠/١٧٤٤١

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Preface

"Thus, the East cannot keep its treasures for long." This statement was made by the American writer Robert Jackson after Imam al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization, had been assassinated in Egypt in 1949. Jackson used to say that Hasan al-Banna represented the East's hope in achieving victory in its struggle against the English occupants. Yet, when it was about to achieve this victory, his life was put to an end in an inhumane way.

Jackson also stated that he was absolutely sure that any national movement that would appear in the East after Al-Banna's departure, would depend on the criteria and measures set up by that leading pioneer.

Perhaps Robert Jackson lost hope in Al-Banna's being the savior of the East from its prolonged suffering because he is dead. However, Muslims are quite sure that the consequences of things do not come to an end with the death of those who establish them; rather, sometimes the real fruits of some accomplishments do not appear except after the death of those who install their foundation. Moreover, the criteria and measures set by Imam al-Banna for regaining the high position of the Muslim *Ummah* constitute a well-established reference for whoever comes after him and seeks to achieve this prospective and honorable objective.

The Way to the Revival of the Muslim Ummah deals with the pillars and bases of a complementary project of the revival of the Muslim *Ummah*. This project mainly depends on Imam al-Banna's thinking, as it has been derived from his tracts, lectures, and lessons. It is true that Imam al-Banna will not actually see this revival of the *Ummah*, but he will always remain the one who implanted the seed of this revival, and his thoughts and deeds will forever remain as a blessed source of goodness for different Muslim generations, who seek to come back to the path of Allah.

Al-Falah feels indebted to Prof. `Abdel Hamid el-Ghazali for giving it the chance to present this valuable work to our English-speaking readers. We are also indebted to the Web Site:

http://www.prelude.co.uk/mb/banna/index.htm

from which we have quoted some parts of the translation of the tracts of Imam al-Banna available on it.

Finally, all praise and thanks are due to Allah, without Whose help and guidance nothing can be accomplished.

Al-Falah Director

Muhammad `Abdu

Foreword

This book is a preliminary attempt to become acquainted with a project dealing with the revival of the Muslim *Ummah*. It is only a partial observation of the thoughts of the Martyr Imam, Hasan al-Banna.

Despite the fact that this attempt aims at presenting a systematic and comprehensive illustration of the fundamentals of this project, it is necessary to note from the beginning, that this extensive image, as observed by the Imam, cannot be obtained except through the presentation and study of all which he wrote about or said concerning these issues. He treated this subject clearly and comprehensively in his tracts, memoirs, lectures, attitudes, and practices.

This study necessitates a presentation and analysis of the world during the lifetime of the Imam, including its symbols, issues, and circumstances. This is necessary in order to define and unify the terms and concepts connected to the framework and elements of the project. These elements include the objectives, means, policies, procedures, call, mechanism, accomplishment, follow-up, and rectification. It is of primary importance that this way is followed, to keep up with new issues and developments, and to remove the obstacles from the way towards the prospective revival.

Examining some of the tracts of the Imam, especially the tracts *Between Yesterday and Today*, *The Fifth Conference*, *The Sixth Conference*, and *Towards the Light*, gives a complementary and clear portrayal of the framework that the Imam prepared as a means towards the revival. Other tracts include *Our Call, To What Do We Invite Humanity?*, and *The Muslim Brotherhood Under the Standard of the Qur'an*, which draw the principal frame of this path. Additionally, the two tracts *Are We Practical People?* and *Our Problems in the Light of the Islamic System* present the practical model of this project.

The Imam illustrated his ideas in this respect easily and rhetorically, with *shar`i* proofs, concentrating on the education of people, giving preference to the practical side, affirming gradual processing, and keeping away from the points of difference. All these aspects are coupled with deep belief in the comprehensive nature of Islam regarding all fields of reformation, until the end of the world. This is because Islam is an ideology, belief, system, and approach; it is limited to neither place nor race; it is directed to all nations until the Day of Resurrection, for it is an order set by the Lord of the worlds and a method introduced by His Messenger (pbuh).

This book consists of a introduction, three parts, and a conclusion. The introduction outlines the reasons for this attempt and the methodology it incorporates. The first part contains the pillars of the revival; the second part deals with the basic elements of the call for this project of the revival; and the third part discusses the construction of the model state according to the project of the revival. The research is concluded with the tract *The Muslim Brotherhood Under the Standard of the*

Qur'an. This conclusion is made to clarify and confirm the fact that the Qur'anic law is the best

> ﴿*[Our Sibghah (religion) is] the Sibghah (Religion) of Allah (Islam) and which Sibghah (religion) can be better than Allah's?..."*﴾
>
> (Al-Baqarah: 138)

It also stresses on the fact that the whole world is in need of this Call, and that our contemporary world is preparing and paving the way for it. Moreover, the conclusion proves superiority of the Qur'an-based order with quoted and historical proofs and, above all, the testimony of the Almighty (Glory be to Him) in His words,

> ﴿*And We have sent down to you the Book (the Qur'an) as an exposition of everything, a guidance, a mercy, and glad tidings for those who have submitted themselves (to Allah as Muslims).*﴾
>
> (An-Nahl: 89)

And, who is truer in statement than Allah!

In this treatise, only direct quotations have been taken from different sources containing the thoughts of Imam al-Banna. They have been collected and put into a logical order that represents the frame and components of this project of revival. There is only a minimum of comment, analysis, and interference, which will only be found in a few places for the sake of arrangement, connecting ideas, and complementing the parts of the project. Hence, we hope that this attempt is coherent and comprehensive, in order that it may serve as an effective

means towards a deeper understanding of the culture of this project, as well as its achievement within the *Ummah.*

May Allah make this work purely for His sake, as He is the One Who grants Guidance!

'Abdel Hamid el-Ghazali

Cairo, 1420 AH, 1999 AC

Introduction

- **Why Has This Subject Been Rewritten?**
- **The Methodology of Preparation for the Study**

Why Has This Subject Been Rewritten?

This subject has been rewritten and rediscussed for the following reasons:

1. Drawing a complemented and coherent picture of Imam al-Banna's analysis of the project of the revival.
2. Clarifying the aspects of renewal, improvement, and complementation that the project of the revival requires.
3. Presenting scientific material for researchers who are concerned with Al-Banna's project.
4. Deepening the concept of the culture of the project in those who believe in the revival.

These objectives may be discussed as follows.

1. Drawing a complemented and coherent picture of Imam al-Banna's analysis of the project of the revival

Comprehending all aspects of the Call

Time has a great effect on all calls. This Call is no exception. The most dangerous among the effects of time is the disappearance of the complementary picture and essential dimensions of the project in the minds of many of those who believe in it. This picture has turned into unsystematic and

fragmented parts. This deterioration is further reflected in contradictory judgments and opinions, which may lead to disunity among those who work in the field of the revival, unless this gap is bridged and the picture is completely restored in the minds of the people concerned. In this connection, Imam al-Banna said,

> "No one is suitable for this Call except the one who comprehends all its aspects".

This comprehension is necessary to achieve success in the project. Therefore, it should be recognized that this Call represents the largest bodies that call for the revival, as it reminds of the moderate approach that is observed throughout the thoughts of its founder. This in turn necessitates exchanging consultation and advice by all people who are interested in this project stems from the religion of Islam. The absence of this kind of cooperation spells danger, to which Imam al-Banna refers in one of his rules that he derived from studying the different movements within the revival. He said,

> "The creation of nations, the education of people, the realization of hopes, and the defense of principles, require that the nation which tries to achieve this or the group which is calling for it, has at the very least a mighty spiritual strength which may be manifested in numerous ways:
>
> 1. a strong will which no weakness can penetrate;
>
> 2. a steady loyalty, unassailable by changeability or treachery;

3. a noble spirit of self sacrifice, unaffected by greed or avarice;

4. and a knowledge of the principles, having faith in them, and evaluating them, which protects one from error when trying to achieve them, and ensures that there is no deviation, misconception, or betrayal about it.

Upon these basic pillars which are from the characteristics of the soul, as well as upon this awesome spiritual strength, elevated principles will be constructed, resurgent nations will create educated and zealous people, and life will be renewed in those who have been deprived of it for many years. People that have lost these four qualities, or at any rate, whose leaders and invitors of reform have lost them, are a wretched and frivolous people who can neither come to any good nor accomplish their hopes. They live in a world of dreams, idle speculation, and fancies. ﴿*Certainly, conjecture can be of no avail against the truth.*﴾ (Yunus: 36) This is the law of Allah and His sunnah (norm) in terms of His creation; you will find no alteration in Allah's sunnah. ﴿*... Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves...*﴾ (Ar-Ra`d: 11)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

It is essential for those who work towards this goal, to know the principles comprehensively and to protect themselves against differences and personal opinions which contradict the approach. This also secures immunity against collapse, bewilderment, doubt, and being deceived by any new proposition.

This usually happens when there is no correct balance with which the caller for the revival measures the other calls around him. Here, Imam al-Banna added a very important question where he said that failure definitely comes when there is no knowledge about the project. That is why we believe it is a necessity, and not a subsidiary matter, that we make great effort to clarify the picture of the project for those who seek the revival. Thus, we have presented this work to contribute to outlining the picture of the project as proposed by Imam al-Banna through his tracts and writings. We do not claim that our contribution is perfect, but we hope that it will be a positive asset that may assist people to understand its magnitude.

For the same reason, Imam al-Banna referred to the necessity of continuous and extensive revision and formulating the picture of the project. He said in Al-Ikhwan's Fifth Conference,

> "My Brothers! It is my wish that we should continue to work silently, without praising ourselves, so that the fruits of the work will introduce the Muslim Brothers (Al-Ikhwan) and their activities by themselves. My wish is that we should proceed peacefully and consistently. My Brothers, it is also my wish that we should continue our activities following on from the last ten years to the next stage of this struggle without there being any apparent difference in our work. But your intense enthusiasm and activity compelled you, and we have been honored by you in this huge gathering. I am grateful to you for this.
>
> We should make full use of this valuable opportunity to examine our program, check and ratify our plan of work, and assign objectives and resources, then there will not

remain any doubt on any particular point of understanding, as far as this movement is concerned. In this way, if there is any mistake in the direction of vision, it may be rectified; if any step is unknown, then it may become known, and if any link is missing, it may be traced in order that the Muslim Brothers and their Call be understood without confusion or ambiguity.

It will be a source of extreme joy for us if this Call reaches someone or if he himself listens to it or comes across it, and then advises us of his opinion in connection with our objectives, resources, and stages of work, so that we may take what is correct in his criticism and benefit from his useful advice. The religion, after all, is sincerity (which requires advice) to Allah, His Messenger (pbuh), His Book, the Muslim leaders, and the Muslim common-folk."

(The Fifth Conference)

2. Clarifying the aspects of renewal, improvement, and complementation that the project of the revival requires

Imam al-Banna stressed on the necessity of renewal, in the way in which the Call is handled, in order to match what is new in people's thoughts and manners, to keep up with the current surrounding circumstances, and to achieve the goal in a practical way. The Imam said,

"Each era needs a special kind of writing that suits the way of understanding and method of studying which its people use. This renovation is required as a consequence of the new condition in which people's minds are and changes in

the methods of research, thinking, and deduction... It is no longer sufficient to answer the question about the nature of the style of the renovation under discussion, by mere extemporaneous speech or impressive oratories and statements; rather, it is obligatory for the people of the Call to present it logically and clearly, depending on the most accurate rules of scientific research. They should also show people productive and practical means which they have prepared for fulfilling the mission as well as for overcoming the obstacles they will meet on the way to achieving the goal."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

The increase of construction and continuation of persistence

Al-Banna stressed that it is necessary for a person to know the objective and methodology of this matter, and that there should be additions made to the capacities one already has as well as continuation. This will help to avoid repetition and the waste of individual ability and potential. In this regard, Imam al-Banna said,

"... You will observe that every group that adopted a successful revival movement had:

1. a definite method that they followed,

2. and a definite aim that they sought, and that was determined by those who called for the revival and made efforts to reach it. These callers were succeeded by others from among their people who:

a. followed the method their predecessors had determined;

b. started where they had left off;

c. did not disconnect what they had connected or destroy what they had built;

d. nor did they destroy what they had established or ruin what they had populated;

e. they added more improvement to their accomplishments,

f. increased the strength of their outputs,

g. or sought to complete what they had begun.

h. Thus they took further steps towards the prospective goal."

(Are We Practical People?)

Accordingly, developing the progress of the revival and urging its renewal must occur frequently. This is very important so that the *Ummah* can achieve success and obtain its goal. It is the duty of everyone who is interested in the revival of the Ummah; rather it is the duty of every individual among its members.

3. Presenting scientific material for researchers who are concerned with Al-Banna's project

This objective is quite significant, for this attempt presents scientific material taken from the thoughts of Imam al-Banna concerning the revival project. Also, this Call, while making its way to millions of people, is closely examined by researchers and critics among whom are many who find it difficult to get the suggestions and ideas of the Imam. Thus, this attempt may help some of them to be useful to this great project by means of offering advice and the like. Imam al-Banna proclaimed,

"It will be a source of extreme joy for us if this Call reaches someone or if he himself listens to it or comes across it, and then advises us by giving opinion in connection with our objectives, resources, and stages of work, so that we may accept all that is correct in his criticism and benefit from his useful advice. The religion, after all, is sincerity (which requires advice) to Allah, His Messenger (pbuh), His Book, the Muslim leaders, and the Muslim common-folk."

(The Fifth Conference)

Likewise, it is essential for those who work in this project to pay attention to revival-oriented speeches and prepare scientific material which is based on Islamic references and expresses the civilizational project which aims at reviving the Muslim nations. This scheme should contain the most important and prominent from among the contemporary issues, which attracts the minds of the individual, society, and the *Ummah* at large. Issues pertaining to this nature are like the issues of freedom and human rights, the civil community, consultation (or democracy), the framework of the political order of the Muslim State, the actual practice of consultation, minorities, and other political, economic, and social issues which are connected with human life. This endeavor is a contribution to our goal, as it outlines the project, as clarified through reading Al-Banna's thoughts. We hope that Allah unites all our efforts to increase in the construction and reach a new stage that is even more specified, modified, and complementary.

4. Deepening the concept of the culture of the project in those who believe in the revival

The primary elements of the revival already exist. They are man, supplies, time. and incentive belief. The most notable duty

of the Callers is to form a complete picture of the project as well as a plan of action. Under the shade of these two factors interaction between man, supplies, and time can be created, and the energy of belief can emerge in a unified whole until the objective is achieved. Undoubtedly, the whole *Ummah* needs the culture that this project offers as do those who work in the field of *da`wah*. Perhaps the latter need it even more, as they are the leaders and guides of the project.

The Methodology of Preparation for the Study

1. Subject of the study

This is a descriptive study of the revival project which was introduced by Imam al-Banna. The material of the study mainly depends on a collection of his various contributions and statements about the most significant issues that he examined through his tracts, memoir, lectures, situations, and practices.

2. Aims of the study

As previously pinpointed, this study seeks to achieve the following aims:

1. Drawing a complementary and coherent picture of Imam al-Banna's analysis of the revival project.
2. Clarifying the aspects of renewal, improvement, and complementation that the revival project needs.
3. Presenting scientific material for researchers who are concerned with Al-Banna's project.
4. Deepening the concept of the culture of the project in those who believe in the revival

3. The field and limits of the study

The study concentrates on the ideal introduced by Imam al-Banna, in the light of his ideological, dynamic, and political statements, without referring to explanatory attempts made by those who have written about him. However, the study refers to a few situations experienced by Al-Ikhwan to connect and explain general meanings.

4. Instruments of the study

The research relies on a direct study of Imam al-Banna's tracts; on meetings and discussions with some of his contemporaries; and on observations and lessons derived from the process of the Call.

5. Previous studies

In order to secure more understanding of the writings of Imam al-Banna, it was necessary to refer to studies made in the fields of *Shari`ah*, history, politics, economics, management, education, law, psychology, sociology, and philosophy. This is because many of his statements required references to their scientific background, as his thinking was distinguishably broad.

6. Ingredients of the study

The study consists of an introduction, three parts, and a conclusion. The first part deals with the methodology that Imam al-Banna followed in outlining his view of the revival project. The second part treats the new call as the basis of the revival project, i.e. the call of reawakening and salvation, with its two

ideological and systematic portions, as illustrated by Imam al-Banna's writings.The third part of the study shows the state or the political entity which represents the idea of the construction of the ideal state according to the revival project. The study is concluded with a summary of the elements of the Islamic project of the revival of the Muslim Ummah as illustrated by the tract *The Muslim Brotherhood Under the Standard of the Qur'an.*

I

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE REVIVAL PROJECT

Chapter One:

The Methodological Bases of the Revival Project

Chapter Two:

Studying History

Chapter Three:

Studying the Contemporary Condition of the *Ummah*

Chapter Four:

The Possibility of Resurgence

Chapter Five:

Historical Lessons

Chapter One

The Methodological Bases of the Revival Project

- Surveying the Challenges Which the *Ummah* Faces
- Studying the Historical and Contemporary Condition of the *Ummah*
- Deriving Lessons
- How to Deal with These Lessons

It is important for all *du`ah*, for every person who wants to effectively participate in building and carrying out this revival project, and for every person who is concerned about the grievances of this *Ummah* and endeavors to resume a true Islamic lifestyle, to become acquainted with the bases on which Imam al-Banna built his conception of the revival project. They should also follow up the way he adopted in establishing the ideological foundation that suited the contemporary style of *da`wah*. In fact they should comprehend the effectiveness of his way which reaches towards achieving the requirements of this project and, then, work as an extension to Imam al-Banna's efforts, and thereby accomplish this great project.

As we become acquainted with these bases, we will:

1. know the methodology of scientific thinking which this project requires;
2. realize the ideological shortcomings in educational efforts made on behalf of the revival project;
3. organize the call for this project according to the lessons of Imam al-Banna;
4. couple the idea with its original roots and protect it from irrelevant ideological trends;
5. confirm our trust in the idea of the project itself and the soundness of its methodology when put into action;
6. elevate the level of our loyalty to the revival movement, from that of a mere sentimental nature, to one containing legal, credal, and cause-oriented loyalty;
7. and construct a common background for those who are interested in the project from which their decisions spring.

The stages which Imam al-Banna's methodology passed through can be summed up in the following points:

1. Surveying the challenges which the *Ummah* faces
2. Studying the historical and contemporary condition of the *Ummah*
3. Deriving lessons
4. How to deal with these lessons

Surveying the Challenges Which the *Ummah* Faces

Imam al-Banna understood the strong, foreign challenges that the *Ummah* was facing. This made him think deeply about them and respond efficiently. He searched for solutions to escape this predicament and find its remedy. This is what he expressed through the following words:

> "A number of incidents and events in Egypt and some other Muslim countries then fired me to action. The hidden wishes of my heart raised their head. I intensely felt that struggle, effort, and action was inevitable. I felt that initially we needed to warn the people and then organize them, so that they could prepare themselves to establish the foundations of the work...Then I met many of the leaders of the community and told them that action and struggle were necessary for the revival of the nation and that the leaders had to address this problem. Sometimes I would be encouraged and other times discouraged by their response. Occasionally, I was met with hesitation. But the will to organize the practical efforts, which I wanted, could not be found anywhere... Then I approached my brothers and friends who had assembled on account of our companionship, pure love, and sense of responsibility. I found in them good and admirable readiness... We made a

firm affirmation and agreement to the effect that each one of us would remain active and would continue the struggle until the objective was achieved; that is until the mind of the nation acquires an Islamic base."

"None except Allah knows how many nights were spent in examining these thoughts and problems. We spent many nights scrutinizing the hopeless condition of the nation in different phases and aspects of life. We analyzed the maladies and diseases and thought of ways to treat them. We were so affected and moved by our deplorable and depraved condition that we wept bitterly... We were amazed to find that most of them were educated and were more deserving of carrying this burden than us. We would ask each other, whether this too was not one of the diseases of the nation, perhaps the most deadly,that it is not regarded as a disease and therefore the nation does not work towards remedying it. These were some considerations that motivated us towards struggle and activity. We have offered our lives in order to correct these faults. We find comfort in this work, and we are grateful to Allah that He has chosen us for this important work and that He has given us the charge to work for His religion."

(The Fifth Conference)

This means that the condition of the *Ummah* urged Al-Banna to:

1. thoroughly examine the condition of the Muslim *Ummah*
2. analyze the causes
3. and search for solutions.

Studying the Historical and Contemporary Condition of the *Ummah*

The history of mankind is the second destination of the researchers to examine the revival, past and present. This idea came to Imam al-Banna and led him to search in the treasures of human history. Human history is the store of both successful and unsuccessful experiments. If a person wants to make a social change in his society and nation he should comprehend human history in order to avoid deadly hindrances. History is the primary school of the humanitarian sciences. From this school, thinkers reiterate their theories and concepts with regard to the process of humanity and the reason for its movement. That is why Imam al-Banna accentuated the importance of history and studied it deeply. He referred to this in more than one place in his tracts and it will be comprehensively discussed in the next chapter but here we may consider the Imam's perceptive historical view. He said,

> "All nations began their revival from a starting point that was so weak that it seemed from first glance that it would be impossible for them to achieve the desired goal. But despite this presumption, history has shown us that patience, steadfastness, wisdom, and persistence have

carried these movements, which were so weak in their beginnings and so feeble in resources, to the pinnacle of success and fortune their leaders hoped for. Who would have believed that the Arabian Peninsula, that dry and infertile desert, would ever produce enlightenment and learning, with which the spiritual and political influence of its people would rule over the mightiest states of the world? Who would have imagined that Abu Bakr, that tender hearted, mild mannered person, against whom the people had rebelled and whose companions' rights they flouted, could send out eleven armies in one day to suppress the rebels and set the wrongdoers straight, punish the transgressors, take vengeance on the apostates, and exact Allah's dues in alms (*Zakah*) from the rebels?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Deriving Lessons

Speaking about the historical lessons derived from the thoughts of Imam al-Banna deserves an independent study, but here we are concerned about the methodology. It suffices to say, Imam al-Banna used to read history with the eyes of a leader who was seeking factors that would help him to achieve his objectives. Later, Allah willing, we will show many of the Imam's conclusions in this connection. It is sufficient to refer to his words commenting on the movement of the revival project, after tracing some historical lessons in his tract *Are We Practical People?*. He said,

> "I think that every historical change and every revival in a nation follows this law, even the religious revivals led by the Prophets and Messengers, peace be upon them. I think that readers with regard to this speech are of two categories: first, those who have studied the history of nations and stages of their development, so they will believe in this speech; and a category that have not been given this opportunity, and those may study so that they can make sure that I have said nothing but the truth, or they may trust me, for my main purpose is to reform as much as possible. This has always been the case in successful revival movements. So, is our revival movement following this cosmic law and social norm?"

(Are We Practical People?)

Imam al-Banna referred to studying history, the idea of the revival, and the ruling law, as the fundamental elements of this stage.

How to Deal with These Lessons

Before we can work within the Divine laws governing individuals, communities, and nations, we must comprehensively understand these cosmic laws. After that we can deduce from these ways and laws, social laws and cultural lessons. Concerning this point Imam al-Banna said,

> "Do not fight the forces of nature, because they will always win. Enjoy the benefit of their service by changing their direction. Seek their help against themselves and wait for the hour of victory."

(The Fifth Conference)

Hence, the project of the revival was born in the mind of Imam al-Banna as a result of studying the condition of the *Ummah*, its history and the history of the rising world around it, deducing the laws of the movement of history, and formulating a view of dealing with these laws or lessons.

In brief, the challenge, which is represented in backwardness, led to the idea of the revival project and putting it into action as the only resort from this backwardness.

Chapter Two
Studying History

- Studying Islamic History
- Studying the History of Rising Nations
- Studying the History of Revival and Reformist Movements

Human history is the store of both successful and unsuccessful experiments. If a person wants to make a social change in his society and nation he should comprehend human history in order to avoid deadly hindrances. History is the primary school of the humanitarian sciences. From this school, thinkers reiterate their theories and concepts with regard to the process of humanity and the reason for its movement. That is why Imam al-Banna accentuated the importance of history and studied it deeply. He referred to this in more than one place in his tracts. For instance, he said,

> "If you refer to the history of revivals in different nations, eastern or western, ancient or recent, you will observe that every group that adopted a successful revival movement had a definite method that they followed... If you refer to the history of bodies, organizations, and peoples, you will find that this statement is obviously authenticated, and that it has always been the basis of success in all their revival movements... If you revise the history of Islamic sects, and of the preceding stages, and compare the rise of the Abbasid State in the East, then move to the renaissance of the modern states in Europe, represented by France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, whether in the first stage, that is the stage of formation of units and establishment of governments, or in this stage of the formation of principles and support of theories, you will find that all this has always subjected to methods of well known steps that have always led to the same imperative result which the *Ummah* is now seeking."

(Are We Practical People?)

Accordingly, this chapter will cover the following sections:

1. Studying Islamic history
2. Studying the history of the rising nations
3. Studying the history of revival and reformist movements

Studying Islamic History

In his tract *Between Yesterday and Today*, Imam al-Banna explained the developments and objectives of the Islamic ideology. This tract was written nearly before World War II. It accurately specified the stages which the Muslim *Ummah* passed through from the Prophet's Mission until the downfall of the last Islamic political entity, after the collapse of the Ottoman State. This study of Islamic history, its cross point with the Western project, and the factors that led to the success of this project, is a matter that should be treated carefully in educational courses in the Muslim communities. This is because when one reads the circumstances under which this tract was written, one will realize that it was a piece of advice from Imam al-Banna. One will also know that the Imam was interested in attaching to this tract, the image of the historical context in which the complementary "call to revival" came. This is very important in order to correct the perception of the role which this call would play, as well as highlighting the dangers that may divert it from its path.

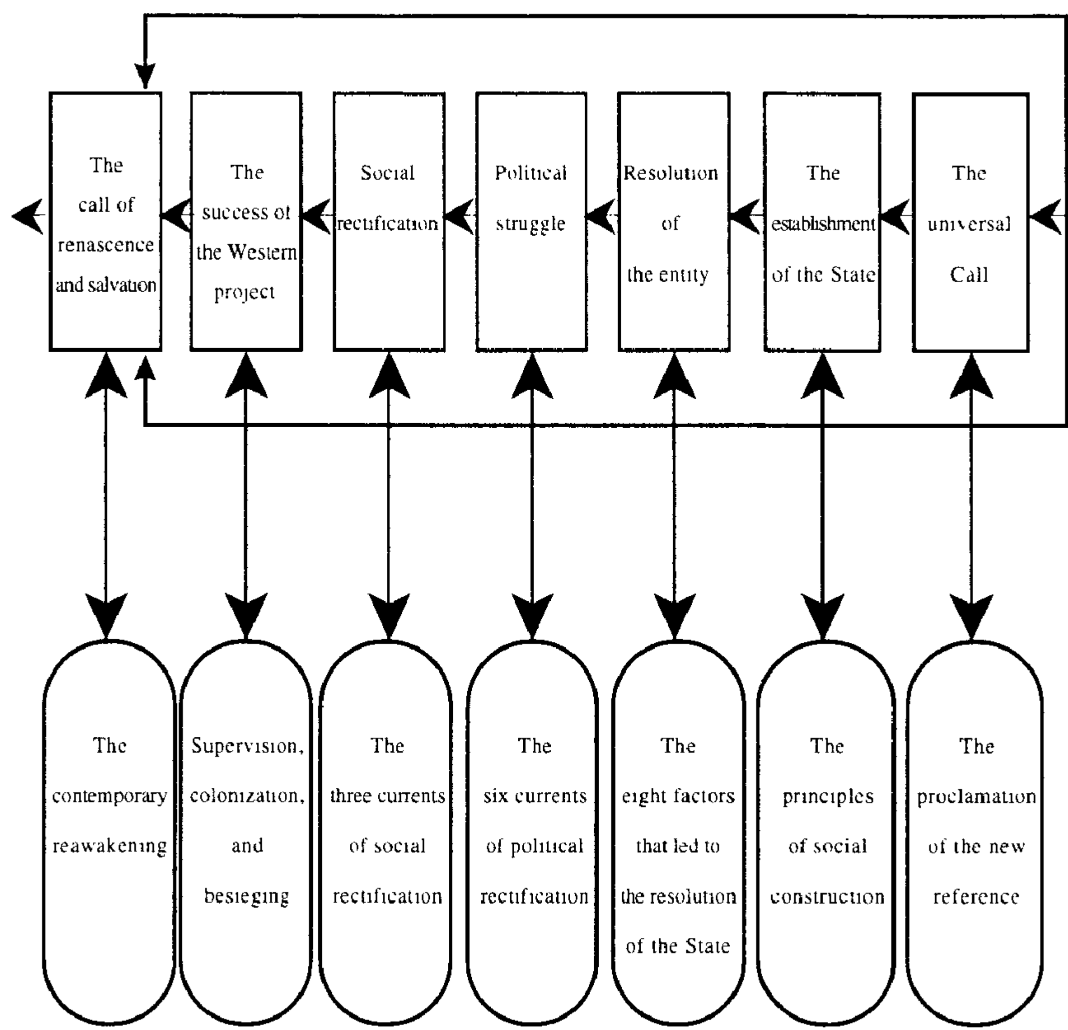
A careful study of the tract *Between Yesterday and Today* will give us an extensive understanding of the basic starting points of the project which the Imam presented to revive this *Ummah*. We will also grasp the historical dimensions that formulated both the idea and the movement. The following significant points can be derived from this tract:

1. A clear display of the historical scene of the Muslim *Ummah* and its stages.
2. Understanding of how to streamline the struggle of our Islamic Call against the opposing movements.
3. An examination of the most important lessons that led up to the Islamic project.
4. An examination of the most important aspects of the Islamic State and its social and economic system.
5. Placing the movement alongside its role and mission through the historical context.
6. Becoming acquainted with the points of strength and weakness, risks and opportunities, and success and failure.

As we have outlined and according to the description offered by Imam al-Banna, the Islamic Call "or ideology" passed through the following seven phases:

1. Declaring birth of the universal Call.
2. Establishing the first Islamic State.
3. The beginning of the resolution in the entity of the Islamic State.
4. Political rectification and struggle.
5. Social rectification and struggle.
6. The victory of the Western project and its control over Islamic culture.
7. The Muslim reawakening and the appearance of the call of renascence and salvation.

The following diagram sums up these phases:



These phases will be discussed in detail as follows.

The first phase: declaring the birth of the universal Call

"Thirteen hundred and seventy years ago, Muhammad ibn `Abdullah, the Illiterate Prophet, proclaimed, in the heart of Makkah from Mount As-Safa:

﴾ *O mankind! Verily, I am sent to you all as the Messenger of Allah - to Whom belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth. La ilaha illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He); It is He Who gives life and causes death. So believe in Allah and His Messenger (Muhammad), the Prophet who can neither read nor write, who believes in Allah and His Words, and follow him so that you may be guided.* ﴿

(Al-A`raf: 158)

This universal Call marked the boundary for all creation, between a dark, oppressive past and a brilliant, shining future, as well as a prosperous and exuberant present. It was a clear announcement of a new order decreed by Allah, the All Knowing, the All Wise. Its herald was Muhammad, the bringer of glad tidings and the warner. Its Book was the Clear and Enlightening Qur'an. Its soldiers were the vanguards of the Muhajirun (Emigrants) and the Ansar (Helpers) and those who followed them in doing good. It was not contrived by man: it was rather a favor from Allah, for who is better than Allah in His favors?

﴾ *You knew not what is the Book, nor what is Faith? But We have made it (this Qur'an) a light wherewith We guide whosoever of Our slaves We will. And verily, you (O Muhammad) are indeed guiding (mankind) to the Straight Path (i.e. Allah's religion of Islamic Monotheism); the Path of Allah, to Whom belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth. Verily, all the matters at the end go to Allah (for decision).* ﴿ (Ash-Shura: 52-53)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

This phase can be summarized as having the following implications:

1. Declaring the birth of the universal Call to put a demarcation line in the whole universe.
2. Making a clear proclamation that clarifies a new world order whose resumption and identity are specified.
3. Clarifying the ideological and practical principles of comprehensive social reform and change.

The second phase: establishing the first Islamic State

"On the foundation of this virtuous Qur'anic social order. the first Islamic state arose, having unshakable belief in it. meticulously applying it, and spreading it throughout the world... Unity, in all its meanings and manifestations. pervaded this new forthcoming nation. Complete social unity arose from making the Qur'anic order and its language universal, while complete political unity was under the shadow of the Commander of the Believers and beneath the standard of the Caliph in the capital. The fact that the Islamic ideology was one of decentralization of the armed forces, the state treasuries, and the provincial governors. proved to be no obstacle to this, since all acted according to a single creed and a unified and comprehensive structure of control.

Qur'anic principles dispelled superstitious idolatry... banished guileful Judaism... and struggled against Christianity. Thus, the Islamic state became the center of

spiritual and political dominance within the two largest continents, and persisted in its attacks against the third continent, assaulting Constantinople from the east and besieging it until the siege grew wearisome. Then it came at it from the west, plunging into Al-Andalus (Spain), with its victorious soldiers reaching the heart of France and penetrating as far as northern and southern Italy. It established an imposing state in Western Europe, radiant with science and knowledge."

"These Islamic nations had already combined and incorporated many things from other civilizations; but they controlled them through the strength of their belief and the solidity of their system. They Arabized them, or succeeded in doing so to a degree, and were able to sway them and convert them to the splendor, beauty, and vitality of their language and religion. The Muslims were free to adopt anything beneficial from other civilizations, insofar as it did not have adverse effects on their social and political unity."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Thus this phase was based on the following elements:

1. Establishing the State on the foundation of the Qur'anic social order.
2. Achieving comprehensive social justice in the shade of the Islamic order.
3. Achieving comprehensive political unity under the standard of the Islamic Caliphate.
4. Driving away hostile powers, like idolatry, Judaism, and Christianity.

5. Dispatching campaigns to achieve Islamic conquests all over the world.
6. Controlling vital fields and mastering both land and sea.
7. Communicating civilizationally with the other nations and transferring beneficial elements in their civilizations cultures.

The third phase: the beginning of resolution in the entity of the Islamic State

"In spite of all this immense strength and extensive empire, the factors of disintegration began to infiltrate the very fiber of this Qur'anic nation, gradually becoming more serious, widespread and powerful, until they rent this fabric apart and brought the centralized Islamic state to an end in the sixth century AH (the thirteenth century AC) at the hands of the Tartars. In the fourteenth century AH (the twentieth century AH) they did this a second time, leaving in their wake, on both occasions, disunited nations and small states aspiring towards unity and striving for resurgence. The most significant of these (disintegrating) factors were the following:

1. Political differences, partisanship, and struggle for supremacy and prestige:

﴾*... and do not dispute (with one another) lest you lose courage and your strength depart...*﴿

(Al-Anfal: 46)

2. Differences in religion and schools of thought, and deficiency in understanding religion:

"No people have ever fallen into error after receiving guidance except by falling into disputes."

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

3. Self indulgence in luxuries and comforts:

﴾And when We decide to destroy a town (population), We (first) send a definite order (to obey Allah and be righteous) to those among them [or We (first) increase in number those of its population] who are given the good things of this life. Then, they transgress therein, and thus the word (of torment) is justified against it (them). Then We destroy it with complete destruction.﴿

(Al-Isra': 16)

4. Taking evil confidants and giving them authority for which they are not qualified:

﴾O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitanah (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends, etc.) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites) since they will not fail to do their best to corrupt you...﴿

(Al `Imran: 118)

5. Indifference to the applied and natural sciences:

﴾Say, 'Behold all that is in the heavens and the earth'... ﴿

(Yunus: 101)

6. Arrogance of the government regarding its authority, self deception as to its power, and failure to look into the social evolution of the nations outside its fold:

﴾And surely, We have created many of the jinns and mankind for Hell...﴿

(Al-A`raf: 179)

7. Self deception through the charms of hostile flatterers and admiration for their actions:

﴿*O you who believe! If you obey a group of those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians), they would (indeed) render you disbelievers after you have believed!*﴾

(Al `Imran: 100)

8. Weakness of the dogmatic motive that leads to destructive moral looseness:

﴿*O you who believe! If you obey those who disbelieve, they will send you back on your heels, and you will turn back (from Faith) as losers.*﴾

(Al `Imran: 149)

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Each one of these issues requires detailed research but it may be sufficient here to refer to the significance of these issues that led to the breakdown of the ascent line of the *Ummah* and which still exist and are still affecting it.

The fourth phase: political rectification and struggle

This struggle and rectification appeared in the form of several currents throughout many centuries. Below are some of these currents:

The first current: attempts to destroy the Muslim *Ummah*

1. The Tatars and the abrogation of the Abbasid Caliphate in 656 AH.
2. Nine crusades and the establishment of a crusade state in Jerusalem.

The second current: successive Muslim victories

1. Restoration of Jerusalem in the battle of Hittin.
2. Driving the Tatars away from Egypt in the battle of `Ayn Jalut.
3. Re-establishment of the Islamic Caliphate represented in Al `Uthman (The Ottoman State).
4. The conquest of Constantinople and expansion to the center of Europe.

The third current: the early signs of renaissance in Europe

1. The Europeans' adherence to the keys of power and their unification under the standard of the French in the lands of Ghal.
2. The establishment of the Spanish State on the debris of Andalus.
3. Taking interest in works pertaining to thought, scientific research, and geographical discoveries. This resulted in the discovery of America and the road to India.
4. Consecutive reformist revolutions and the establishment of modern powerful states.
5. The formation of respected alliances among strong European countries to tear up the Islamic Caliphate.

The fourth current: a new European attack against Muslim countries

1. Devising many projects to break down the Islamic State.
2. Dividing the property of the ill man (the Ottoman State) among themselves (the Europeans) and causing the Eastern issue (for this purpose).

3. Separating many Muslim countries from the Caliphate and placing them directly under European influence.

4. The defeat of Turkey and its allies in World War I (1914-1918).

5. Dividing the inheritance of the Ottoman State in the name of occupation, colonization, deputation, and interests.

6. Europe's success in this political struggle and the division of the Islamic Empire and its political negation.

The fifth current: returning to power and the revolutions for independence

1. Some Muslim countries attained independence and some of their rights.

2. The emergence of a private national meaning for every Muslim state or country, as an independent nation.

3. Deliberate negligence to the idea of unity by many of those who worked for this revival.

The sixth current: a new world war and unjust covenants

1. World War II and its destructive effects.

2. The inculcation of hostility and hatred in the hearts of the European countries, one towards the other.

3. The appearance of new ideas and fanatical principles, which were signs of new differences and annihilative wars.

4. The availability of an opportunity for the Muslim *Ummah* to organize its troops and restore its State and unity.

This is the historical line that Imam al-Banna observed. We have to expand this line forward in order to know how the

position developed since World War II until now. This is another question that needs to be handled specifically. Yet still, it may suffice that we follow up the methodology offered by Imam al-Banna.

The fifth phase: Social rectification and struggle

This struggle and rectification appeared in the form of several currents throughout the centuries. Below are some of these currents:

The first current: a new culture getting crystallized

> "The European nations, which had socialized and come into contact with Islam and the Muslims, due to their Crusades in the East, and their proximity to the Arabs of Andalus in the West, not only benefited from this in terms of a heightened awareness, cohesion, and political unification, but also in terms of a great intellectual awakening, acquiring numerous sciences and branches of knowledge."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

The most noticeable aspects of this current, as Al-Banna affirmed, are:

1. The appearance of a wide literary and scientific renaissance in Europe.
2. The violent struggle that occurred between this renaissance and the Church and in which the former achieved victory.
3. The productive scientific revolution that arose as an outcome of the modern scientific renaissance.
4. The authoritative expansion of the European countries to many lands and countries.

5. The foundation of European lifestyle and culture on the basis of separating religion from the State, courts, and schools.

6. The materialistic view overpowered people's life and was adopted as a measure for all concerns. Also, new doctrines like atheism, libertinism, egoism, and *riba*, spread.

The second current: the invasion of Muslim lands and transference of the materialistic life

> "The Europeans worked assiduously in trying to immerse those Muslim lands that their hands stretched out to in materialism, with its corrupting traits and murderous germs. Under their authority, the Muslims suffered an ill fate, for while they (the Europeans) secured for themselves power and prosperity through science, knowledge, industry, and good organization, the Muslims were barred from all this. They laid the plans for this social turmoil in a masterly fashion, invoking the aid of their political intellect and military might until they achieved their goal."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

The most noticeable aspects of this current, as Imam al-Banna affirmed, are:

1. Deluding the Muslim leaders by granting them loans and entering into financial transactions with them.

2. Acquiring the concession to infiltrate the economy and flood the country with their capital, banks, and companies, and thus running economic machinery, exploiting the enormous profits and vast sums of money.

3. Altering the basic principles of government, justice, and education, and infusing in the most powerful Islamic countries, their own peculiar political judicial, and cultural systems.
4. Importing their semi-naked women into these regions, together with their liquor, theatres, dance halls, amusements arcades, stories, newspapers, novels, whims, silly games, and their vices.
5. Allowing crimes which are considered intolerable in their own countries, and beautifying this tumultuous world.
6. Building schools and scientific cultural institutes, thereby casting doubt and heresy into the hearts of people.
7. Making the Muslims vilify their religion and their homeland and regard anything Western as sacred.
8. Completing the social and cultural organized invasion by sending Muslim students abroad frequently.

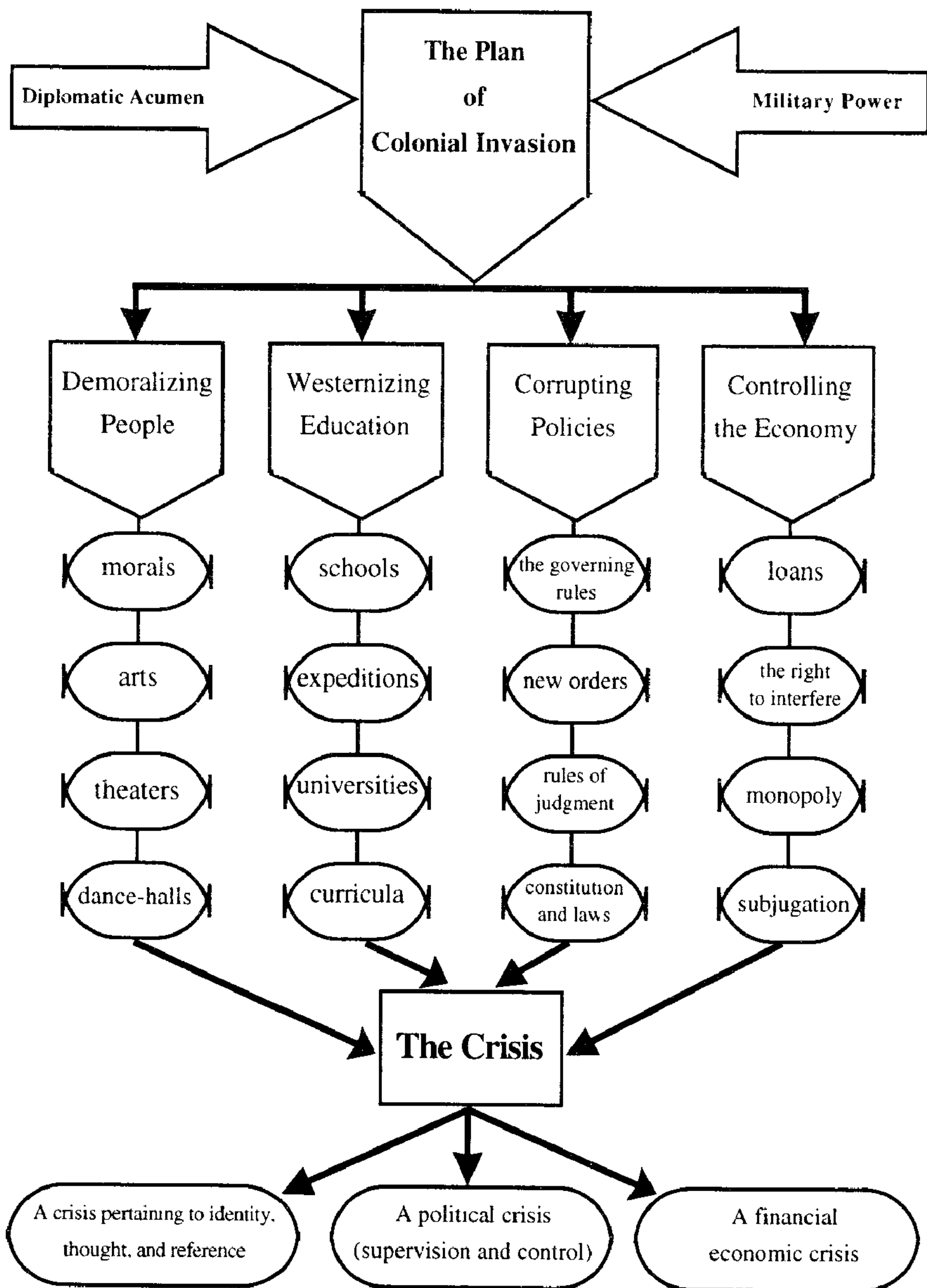
The third current: attempts to deceive the Muslim intellect

> "Nevertheless, this current is spreading with the speed of lightning reaching those whom it has not struck yet. The enemies of Islam could deceive Muslim intellectuals and draw a thick veil over the eyes of the zealous, by depicting Islam as defective in various aspects of doctrine, ritual observance, and morality. What helped them to carry out this deception, was the Muslims' ignorance about the intrinsic nature of Islam, such that many of them became quite happy to accept the status quo. They have been ingrained in this for such a long time now, that it is difficult

to explain to them that Islam is a complete social system encompassing all aspects of life."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

The following diagram elucidates the plan of this overwhelming invasion:


Diplomatic Acumen
The Plan of Colonial Invasion
Military Power
Demoralizing People
Westernizing Education
Corrupting Policies
Controlling the Economy
morals
schools
the governing rules
loans
arts
expeditions
new orders
the right to interfere
theaters
universities
rules of judgment
monopoly
dance-halls
curricula
constitution and laws
subjugation
The Crisis
A crisis pertaining to identity, thought, and reference
A political crisis (supervision and control)
A financial economic crisis

The sixth phase: the victory of the Western project and its control over Islamic culture

"Thus we can say that the Western civilization, has triumphed over the Islamic civilization in its social struggle. This has occurred on Muslim land, not only militarily but spiritually and ideologically as well. No wonder is wasted here, for what is strong is wholly strong, and what is weak is wholly weak. ﴿*... And so are the days (good and not so good), We give to men by turns...*﴾ (Al `Imran: 140) Despite this, the ideology and teachings of Islam have remained powerful in their essential nature, full of life and vitality, attractive and enchanting in its splendor and beauty, and it will remain so because it is the truth, and human existence will never achieve perfection and virtue through any other means because it is the religion of Allah and under His protection. ﴿*Verily We: It is We Who have sent down the Message and surely, We will guard it (from corruption).*﴾ (Al-Hijr: 9) ﴿*...but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected even though the Kafirun (disbelievers) hate (it).*﴾ (At-Tawbah: 32)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Thus, Imam al-Banna assured that Western civilization achieved victory in this phase over the conscience of the Muslims, just as it obtained victory in the political and military field. At the same time he confirmed the strength of Islam and its principles and instructions that guarantee a virtuous and perfect life for human beings.

The seventh phase: the Muslim reawakening and the appearance of the call of renascence and salvation

"Just as political aggression had its effect in arousing nationalist feelings, so has social aggression in reviving the Islamic ideology. Voices have risen in every land, demanding a return to Islam, an understanding of its precepts, and an application of its rules. The day must soon come when the walls of this materialistic civilization will come down upon the heads of its inhabitants. Then their hearts and souls will burn with a spiritual hunger, but they will find no sustenance, no healing, no remedy, except in the teachings of this Noble Book:

﴿*O mankind! There has come to you a good advice from your Lord (i.e. the Qur'an), and a healing for that (disease of ignorance, doubt, hypocrisy and differences, etc.) in your breasts, - a guidance and a mercy (explaining lawful and unlawful things, etc.) for the believers. Say: 'In the Bounty of Allah, and in His Mercy (i.e. Islam and the Qur'an); -therein let them rejoice'. That is better than what (the wealth) they amass.*﴾ (Yunus: 57-58)"

"Thus dear Brothers, it is Allah's will that we are the inheritors of this legacy; no matter what the consequences, the light of your Call glows amidst this darkness; He has chosen you to exalt His Word, to bring back the Shari`ah and re-establish His state: ﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.*﴾ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Here, Imam al-Banna affirmed that it is imperative to return to the truth, and adhere to the path of light, the path of the great Islam and the Ever-honorable Qur'an.

Despite the fact that Imam al-Banna presented this historical frame in brief, his words, if read deeply, offer a fulcrum for many studies which are directed in this critical field like:

1. Identity and resumption.
2. Principles of social reform from the Islamic perspective.
3. A historical brief picture of the early Islamic State.
4. Factors of weakness in Islamic history and how to deal with them in the future.
5. Strategic, extensive reading in the historical period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.
6. Studying the same period in Europe while analyzing the factors of power.
7. Studying and overlooking the age of renaissance in Europe.
8. Studying the independence movements strategically.
9. Studying the roots of the Western ideology and its contemporary political applications.
10. Studying the mechanism of settlement colonization movements and its contemporary applications.

These serious issues should be studied by people who are well-versed in *shar`i* knowledge, persistent readers of contemporary events, ready to take action, and capable of writing, which is based on both essence and composition. Without these studies, the culture required for the prospective

revival will remain suffering from ideological deficiency and problems pertaining to *da`wah* activity. Consequently the rulings will remain inadequate to treat the existent problems.

Studying the History of Rising Nations

Imam al-Banna's studies covered a great deal of revival experience because he strongly believed that every serious movement which aims at achieving revival and change, should study the history of the previous nations deeply. That is why he said,

> "If you revise the history of Islamic sects and of the preceding stages, and compare the rise of the Abbasid State in the East, then move to the renaissance of the modern states in Europe, represented by France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, whether in the first stage, that is the stage of formation of units and establishment of governments, or in this stage of the formation of principles and support of theories, you will find that all this has always subjected to methods of well known steps that have always led to the same imperative result which the Ummah is now seeking..."

(Are We Practical People?)

Now overlook his words:

> "the renaissance of the modern states in Europe ... methods of well known steps"

It is very important to study the movement of modern revivals and their stages in detail and with abstract contemplation

on whose base the rules of revival and horizons of movement are set out. Here the question is: to what extent are the workers in the Islamic project of revival interested in this study and to what extent is their culture affected by it? It is quite significant for the present and future of this project that this question be kept in mind.

Studying the History of Revival and Reformist Movements

It is very useful for the revival movement to study, analyze, and criticize the experiences of other revival movements, now and in the past. This provides many useful lessons. That it is why Allah (Glory be to Him) commanded in more than one place in the Qur'an that we should meditate and think of what happened to the preceding nations and how they experienced both victory and success. Imam al-Banna spoke about this saying,

> "All nations began their revival from a starting point that was so weak that it seemed from first glance that it would be impossible for them to achieve the desired goal. But despite this presumption, history has shown us that patience, steadfastness, wisdom, and persistence have carried these movements, which were so weak in their beginnings and so feeble in resources, to the pinnacle of success and fortune their leaders hoped for. Who would have believed that the Arabian Peninsula, that dry and infertile desert, would ever produce enlightenment and learning, with which the spiritual and political influence of its people would rule over the mightiest states of the world?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The Rightly-Guided Caliphate

"Who would have imagined that Abu Bakr, that tender hearted, mild mannered person, against whom the people had rebelled and whose companions' rights they flouted, could send out eleven armies in one day to suppress the rebels and set the wrongdoer straight, punish the transgressors, take vengeance on the apostates, and exact Allah's dues in alms (*Zakah*) from the rebels?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The Abbasid State

"Who would have believed that frail, underground following of `Ali and Al-`Abbas would be able to overturn that far flung and powerful state overnight, although previously they had been exposed, each day, to murder, persecution, banishment, and threat?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The Ayyubi State

"Who would have imagined that Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi would hold his ground so firmly, hurling back the kings of Europe on their heels, despite their enormous numbers and brave show of armies, such that twenty five of their greatest kings would unite their efforts against him?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The Saudi State

"All that is ancient history. In modern history, there is an even more astonishing example, for who would have

imagined that King `Abd al-`Aziz Al Sa`ud, whose family had been banished, whose people had been persecuted, and whose kingdom had been stolen, would win back that kingdom with twenty or so men?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The German State

"And who would have believed that that German laborer, Hitler, would ever attain such immense impact on world politics?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Although it is important to deeply study these examples, it is not beneficial for restriction and limitation, yet it is useful for undivided methodology. Thus, the historical examples, whether far or near, are all fertile fields of study that should be analyzed and carefully thought over. The most dangerous thing that reduces the wideness and comprehensiveness of the idea, is to restrict study to the early Islamic historical period and neglect the generality of human experience.

Chapter Three

Studying the Contemporary Condition of the *Ummah*

- Descriptive (Qualitative) Analysis
- Statistic (Quantitative) Analysis

The person who wants to serve his nation and seeks to establish a community that enjoys justice, equality, and true human brotherhood, should study the contemporary condition of this nation, locally, regionally, and internationally. He should study it deeply in order to become acquainted with the various factors required for its strength as well as the various factors of its weakness. This will also help him to understand the nature of the challenges and dangers that surround it both internally and externally and to watch for opportunities which meet him in any field. He should, moreover, specify the fields in which he has achieved success and those in which he has failed. More accurately, he should comprehend the status quo of his nation appropriately. Those who undertake the revival movement should pay heed to this fact and involve it in their educational courses and future plans. This can be obtained through a comprehensive constitutional work, based on attentive study and careful scientific research.

In this chapter, we will deal with the following two sections:

1. Descriptive (qualitative) analysis
2. Statistic (quantitative) analysis

Descriptive (Qualitative) Analysis

The basic issues that the revival movement will face

Imam al-Banna presented a descriptive analysis of the aspects of the crisis of the *Ummah*, saying,

> "Experience has taught us, and events have given us the knowledge, that the disease afflicting these Eastern nations assumes a variety of aspects and has many symptoms. It has done harm to every aspect of their lives (as follows):
>
> 1. They have been assailed on the political side by imperialist aggression on the part of their enemies, and by factionalism, rivalry, division, and disunity on the part of their sons.
>
> 2. They have been assailed on the economic side by the propagation of usurious practices throughout their social classes, and the exploitation of their resources and natural treasures by foreign companies.
>
> 3. They have been afflicted on the intellectual side by anarchy, defection, and heresy which destroy their religious beliefs and overthrow the ideals within the hearts their sons.
>
> 4. They have been assailed on the sociological side by lewdness of manners and morals, through the sloughing off

of the restraints of the humanitarian virtues they inherited from their glorious, fortunate ancestors; while through imitation of the West, the viper's venom creeps insidiously into their affairs, poisoning their blood and sullying the purity of their well being.

5. They have been assailed through the workings of a positive man-made law which does not restrain the criminal, chastise the assailant, or repel the unjust; nor does it even for one day take the place of the divinely revealed laws which the Creator of creation, the Master of the kingdom, and the Lord and Originator of souls, has set down.

6. They have also been assailed through disorder in their policy of education and training, which stands in the way of effectively guiding their present generation, the men of the future, and those who will be responsible for bringing about their resurgence.

7. They have been assailed on the spiritual side by a death dealing despair, a murderous apathy, a shameful cowardice, an ignoble humility, an all pervading impotence, a niggardliness and an egocentricity which prevent people from making any effort, preclude self sacrifice, and thrust the nation from the ranks of earnest strivers into those of triflers and gamesters.

What hope is there for a nation against which all these factors gather together in their strongest manifestations and most extreme forms. These factors may be summarized as follows:

1. imperialism and factionalism,

2. *riba* and foreign companies,

3. atheism,

4. libertinism,

5. disorientation in education,

6. disorientation in legislation,

7. despair, niggardliness, impotence, and cowardice,

8. and admiration for the enemy, an admiration which prompts one to imitate him in everything he does...

One of these diseases alone is sufficient to kill numerous proud nations. How much longer, now that they have widely spread among all, in every nation without exception? If it were not for the resistance, imperviousness, hardihood, and strength of those Eastern nations whose enemies have been contending with them and assiduously inoculating them with the germs of these diseases for a long time, until they finally imbedded themselves and hatched, their traces would have long ago been swept away and wiped out of existence. But Allah and the believers will not tolerate this. Brother, this is the diagnosis which the Brotherhood make of the ailments of this *Ummah*, and this is what they are doing in order to cure it of them and restore its lost health and strength."

(Our Call)

Along with this come: the issue of colonization, the issue of economy and foreign monopolization, the issue of social status,

the issue of education, the issue of legislation, and the issue of psychological condition.

This formulates the most important pivots for the revival movement in the contemporary *da`wah* activity.

Statistic (Quantitative) Analysis

While studying the status quo of the *Ummah*, Imam al-Banna followed the way of statistical analysis, or what we call today "quantitative analysis". This step greatly influences the plans, policies, and attitudes of the movement. Those who undertake this movement should utilize this in their educational and cultural courses and take for themselves foundations for research and studies and information centers that will provide them with what they need to know how to deal with every step, as we indicated earlier. Imam al-Banna said,

> "Dear Brothers, recall that more than sixty percent of the Egyptians live at a subhuman level... and that there are more than three hundred and twenty foreign companies in Egypt, monopolizing all public utilities and important facilities in every sector of the country... Recall that over ninety percent of the Egyptian people are threatened by physical infirmity, the loss of some sensory perception, and a variety of sicknesses and ailments, and that Egypt is still backward, with no more than one fifth of the population possessing any form of education, and of these more than one hundred thousand have never gone further than the primary school level. Recall that crime has doubled in Egypt..."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

"Brothers, here are some statistics which obviously indicate the devastating social dangers which are threatening us, and which will bring about destructive consequences and terrible effects unless Allah has mercy on us:

- farmers...

- laborers...

- monopolizing firms...

- government clinics...

- illiteracy...

- and crimes..." (1)

"Brothers, this is the language of numbers, and these are a few examples which indicate some aspects of distress and hardship in Egypt. But what are the causes of all this hardship? Who are the ones responsible for it? What is the way-out? And What is the way of reform?..."

(The Sixth Conference)

This can be used as a criterion in the revival process as a whole. We should collect expressive statistics covering various fields of life, in the contemporary Muslim communities, studying and analyzing them thoroughly. This will portray a practical disposition that will rid us of the aspects of distress and hardship. It will also help us specify the right way to carry out the revival project and present to the world a constant model of development.

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1. The tract contains numbers attributed to statistics recorded in 1941 when the tract was first delivered. Of course, recent statistics reflect more terrible effects.

Chapter Four

The Possibility of Resurgence

- The Possibility of Revival
- The Indications of Resurgence

After studying history and the status quo of the *Ummah* and finding out the root causes of the disease, it is imperative that Muslims work to change this sorrowful situation, rescue the *Ummah*, and prescribe the suitable remedy. For these reasons Imam al-Banna stressed that it is necessary to prepare for achieving resurgence of the Muslim *Ummah*. He said,

> "Also circumstances obliged us to face all this, and to rescue the nation from the surrounding danger. A nation which is surrounded by circumstances like those by which we are surrounded, which seeks to fulfil a mission like our mission, and which faces duties like those which we face, will gain no benefit if it seeks a way out through temporary remedies or through hopes and wishes. Instead, such a nation must prepare itself for a prolonged and violent struggle between truth and falsehood, between the beneficial and the harmful, between the people whose rights have been undermined and their usurpers, between those who adhere to the way of struggle and those who have deviated from it, and between the sincere and those who pretend. This nation should also know that jihad requires effort and sacrifice and that it experiences rest only when the struggle has achieved the prospective goals; only then can the strivers find rest."

(Are We Practical People?)

In addition to the facts representing our Islamic status quo which have been referred to through the previously mentioned basic issues and statistics, there remain some important points that will be discussed under the following two titles:

1. The possibility of revival
2. The indications of resurgence

The Possibility of Revival

Motivated by the grandeur and glory of Islam and faith, Imam al-Banna said in this regard,

> "... Our mission is to master the whole world and guide humanity to the righteous systems and instructions of Islam without which people cannot obtain happiness..."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

He affirmed this fact when he said,

> "The whole world is confused and bewildered, and all its systems have failed to offer it the remedy. The only remedy for it is Islam. So proceed in the name of Allah to rescue it, for all people are waiting for a rescuer, and none will be this rescuer except the Mission of Islam whose light you are bearing and to which you are calling."

(To Youths)

Imam al-Banna indicated the time when a nation moves from weakness and recession to strength and resurgence. He said,

> "The most dangerous period in the life of a nation, and the most deserving of critical study, is the period of transition from one situation to another. It is then, that plans for the new period are laid and its guiding principles and policies are drawn up, according to which, the nation will be formed

and to which it will adhere. If these plans, principles, and policies are clear cut, sound, and solid, then announce for this nation of a long and extended life, of prosperous and flourishing work. Inform them of success and give them glad tidings of a great reward, eternal fame, the just verdict of history, and a good reputation."

(Towards the Light)

Eventually, the Imam declared that the revival is possible:

"I have asked my people to choose, or rather to fulfil their covenant with Allah and with themselves. This requires that they should establish the bases of our social life in all its aspects according to the rules of Islam, so that our society can get rid of the worry, confusion, and panic that has affected everything, paralyzed our progress, and prevented us from recognizing the correct way to the remedy of our internal and external undecided issues. I have also mentioned that salvation cannot be achieved without following this direction, where belief should be coupled with instant and resolute action."

(Our Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

The Indications of Resurgence

Imam al-Banna presented four indications for the resurgence of the *Ummah*, as follows:

1. The social indication

The Imam said about this,

> "Social scientists say that the realities of today were the dreams of yesterday, and that the dreams of today will be the realities of tomorrow. Now this viewpoint is supported by reality and validated with proof and evidence. In fact, it is at the core of human advancement and its upward progress towards perfection, for who could have believed that scientists would make such discoveries and inventions as they have done before they came to light a few years ago? Until reality established and supported these discoveries with evidence, scientific authorities themselves rejected them as they were first encountered! Examples of this are plentiful, and they are so well known that we do not need to spend any more time discussing them."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

2. The historical indication

Imam al-Banna said about this,

"All nations began their revival from a starting point that was so weak that it seemed from first glance that it would be impossible for them to achieve the desired goal. But despite this presumption, history has shown us that patience, steadfastness, wisdom, and persistence have carried these movements, which were so weak in their beginnings and so feeble in resources, to the pinnacle of success and fortune their leaders hoped for.

Who would have believed that the Arabian Peninsula, that dry and infertile desert, would ever produce enlightenment and learning, with which the spiritual and political influence of its people would rule over the mightiest states of the world? Who would have imagined that Abu Bakr, that tender hearted, mild mannered person, against whom the people had rebelled and whose companions' rights they flouted, could send out eleven armies in one day to suppress the rebels and set the wrongdoers straight, punish the transgressors, take vengeance on the apostates, and exact Allah's dues in alms (*Zakah*) from the rebels? Who would have believed that frail, underground following of `Ali and Al-`Abbas would be able to overturn that far flung and powerful state?... Who would have imagined that Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi would hold his ground so firmly, hurling back the kings of Europe on their heels, despite their enormous numbers and brave show of armies, such that twenty five of their greatest kings would unite their efforts against him?... Who would have imagined that King `Abd al-`Aziz Al Sa`ud, whose family had been banished, whose people had been persecuted, and whose kingdom had been

stolen, would win back that kingdom with twenty or so men?... And who would have believed that that German laborer, Hitler, would ever attain such immense impact on world politics?"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The revival movements that took place in Japan, China, and India, in addition to all the contemporary revival movements witness this simple fact.

3. The logical indication

Imam al-Banna said,

"There are two negative viewpoints which produce exactly the same result, both of which direct the heart of the zealous to act with strength and determination.

The first is that the direction, however long it may take, is the only one suitable for erecting the foundations of the revival on a sure basis, and experience has confirmed this viewpoint.

The second is that one carries out a duty first for the sake of doing so, then second for a reward in the Hereafter, and third for personal advantage. If he works in this way and performs his duty, he will thenceforth win Allah's approval - there is no doubt of this as long as all the conditions are fulfilled; then only his personal advantage remains, and this is a matter which is in Allah's hands. Perhaps an opportunity, quite outside his calculations, will arise and render his act productive with the most blessed fruits; while if he refrains from acting, the sin of negligence falls upon

him, thus losing the reward of *jihad*, and being absolutely deprived of any personal benefit. Which of these two alternatives stands fairer and is more noble? The Noble Qur'an has pointed this out clearly and unequivocally in these verses:

﴿*And when a community among them said: 'Why do you preach to a people whom Allah is about to destroy or to punish with a severe torment?' (The preachers) said: 'In order to be free from guilt before your Lord (Allah), and perhaps they may fear Allah'. So when they forgot the remindings that had been given to them, We rescued those who forbade evil, but We seized those who did wrong with a severe torment because they used to rebel (disobey Allah).*﴾ (Al-A`raf: 164-165)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

4. The religious indication

In the Divine texts and glad tidings there are proofs that leave no room for those who doubt the possibility of the revival. Imam al-Banna spoke much about that but it may suffice that we quote his presentation of the story of Prophet Musa (peace be upon him). He portrayed this Qur'anic story in a way that highlighted his ability to describe things with simplicity and abstraction. He classified the stages of the struggle as follows.

1. The stage of weakness and being dubbed weak

﴿*We recite to you some of the news of Musa (Moses) and Fir`awn (Pharaoh) in truth, for a people who believe (those who believe in this Qur'an, and in the Oneness of Allah).*

Verily, Fir`awn exalted himself in the land and made its people sects, weakening (oppressing) a group (i.e. Children of Israel) among them, killing their sons, and letting their females live. Verily, he was of the Mufsidun (i.e. those who commit great sins and crimes, oppressors, tyrants, etc.). And We wished to do a favour to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land, and to make them rulers and to make them the inheritors, and to establish them in the land...﴾

(Al-Qasas: 3-6)

2. The stage of efficient leadership

﴿*And when you both come to Fir`awn (Pharaoh), say: 'We are the Messengers of the Lord of the `Alamin (mankind, jinns and all that exists), so allow the Children of Israel to go with us'. [Fir`awn (Pharaoh)] said [to Musa (Moses)]: 'Did we not bring you up among us as a child? And you did dwell many years of your life with us. And you did your deed, which you did (i.e. killing a man). And you are one of the ingrates.' Musa said: 'I did it then, when I was an ignorant (as regards my Lord and His Message). So I fled from you when I feared you. But my Lord has granted me Hukm (i.e. religious knowledge, right judgement of the affairs and Prophethood), and appointed me as one of the Messengers.'*﴾

(Ash-Shu`ara': 16-21)

3. The stage of struggle and rectification

﴿*The chiefs of Fir`awn's (Pharaoh) people said: 'Will you leave Musa (Moses) and his people to spread mischief in the land, and to abandon you and your gods?' He said: 'We*

will kill their sons, and let live their women, and we have indeed irresistible power over them.' Musa said to his people: 'Seek help in Allah and be patient. Verily, the earth is Allah's. He gives it as a heritage to whom He will of His slaves, and the (blessed) end is for the Muttaqun (pious)'. ﴾

(Al-A`raf: 127-128)

4. The stage of belief and challenge

﴿ *'... So decree whatever you desire to decree, for you can only decree (regarding) this life of the world. ??? Verily! We have believed in our Lord, that He may forgive us our faults, and the magic to which you did compel us. And Allah is better as regards reward in comparison to your [Fir`awn's (Pharaoh)] reward, and more lasting (as regards punishment in comparison to your punishment).'* ﴾

(Taha: 72-73)

5. The stage of triumph and success

Then Imam al-Banna concluded,

"If we understand all this, we shall see its consequences in the fifth section and who knows what this may be? Victory, prosperity, triumph, success, and glad tidings brought to the oppressed; hope realized for the dreamers, and the cry of manifest justice resounding through the horizons of the earth: ﴿ O Children of Israel! We delivered you from your enemy... ﴾ (Taha: 80)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Accordingly, the social, historical, logical, and religious proofs confirm the possibility of resurgence and revival. Yet, the

question remains: if the revival is possible, so what are the laws and rules that govern the revival process? This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Historical Lessons

- The Laws of Revival
- How to Deal with These Laws and Ways

The Laws of Revival

Since we know that the revival is possible as proven by many indications in sociological research, repeated historical experiments, abstract logic, and Qur'anic texts, we need to know the laws that govern the process of revival.

Imam al-Banna's thinking, his deep study of history, his understanding of the status quo of the *Ummah*, his perception of the future, and his comprehensive *shar`i* and humanitarian culture, all enabled him to conclude a number of laws and historical and social lessons out of events and situations that occurred to individuals, communities, and nations. Contemplating his thoughts, we realize that there is a collection of laws that we should consider when preparing to revive this *Ummah*. Below are the most important of these laws:

1. The central idea
2. The law of driving power
3. The law of self change
4. The law of movement and initiation
5. The law of the success of ideas
6. The law of preparation of men
7. The law of the primary requirements of the revival
8. The law of the criterion of the *da`wah* work

9. The law of human rectification

10. Perception of opportunities

11. The law of circulation and civilizational exchange

12. The law of the seven pillars of the revival

Now each one of these laws will be discussed in some detail through the thinking of Imam al-Banna.

The first law: the central idea

Imam al-Banna said,

> "The Muslim Brothers believe that when Allah sent down the Qur'an and commanded His worshipers to follow Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), He chose for them Islam as their religion, incorporating within it all the fundamentals necessary for a nation to live, advance, and prosper. This is confirmed in the words of Allah:
>
> ﴾*Those who follow the Messenger, the Prophet who can neither read nor write (i.e. Muhammad) whom they find written with them in the Tawrah (Torah) and the Injil (Gospel), -he commands them for Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam has ordained); and forbids them from Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism of all kinds, and all that Islam has forbidden); he allows them as lawful At-Tayyibat [(i.e. all good and lawful) as regards things, deeds, beliefs, persons, foods, etc.], and prohibits them as unlawful Al-Khaba'ith (i.e. all evil and unlawful as regards things, deeds, beliefs, persons, foods, etc.); and he releases them from their heavy burdens (of Allah's Covenant), and from the fetters (bindings) that were upon them.*﴿ *(Al-A`raf: 157)"*

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The second law: driving power (the psychological capacity)

Imam al-Banna spoke firmly about this saying,

> "People always look to the outward actions and characteristics of a movement. However, many neglect looking into the spiritual and moral aspects, which are really the backbone and the source of nourishment of any movement, and upon which its success and growth depend. No one can question this fact, except he who is unaware of the history of movements and their secrets. Behind the outward forms of all movements, their secret lies in their spirit; their spiritual strength keeps them going, has full control over them, and defends them. It is impossible for any community to make progress unless the hearts, souls, and emotions of the people are well and truly awakened:
>
> ﴿... *Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves (by committing sins and by being ungrateful and disobedient to Allah)...*﴾
>
> (Ar-Ra`d: 11)
>
> Therefore, what we attach most importance to, is the spiritual awakening, because the growth, progress, and success of this movement depends on it. What we seek first of all, is to raise the spirits, to invoke the consciousness of people, and to awaken their inherent emotions. Such talk about what we want from this call, about the different aspects of practical reform, is not as important to us as standing by what we say and establishing ourselves with regard to this ideology.

We need spirited, energetic, and strong young people, whose hearts are filled with life and whose emotions are fiery and dynamic; we need souls that are full of ambition, aspiration, and vigor and that have great goals, rising and aspiring to reach them until they eventually achieve them. However we must define these objectives and limit these emotions and feelings within a boundary. We must consolidate and establish ourselves in such a way that our belief is not open to criticism, doubt, and suspicion. So what are the limits of these objectives and what are their aims?"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Let us stand before the first teacher and the master of educators and Messengers, our Messenger Muhammad (pbuh), to learn lessons on how to resume reform and invitation. The Prophet (pbuh) cast three feelings into the hearts of his Companions, which shone within them and were reflected in their deeds. These feelings are:

The first feeling: to believe in the glory of the Message

He (pbuh) inculcated in the hearts of his Companions, that what he brought is the truth; that everything that contradicts it is false; that his Message is the best of messages; that his path is the best of paths; and that his Law is the most perfect order through which all people can find happiness. He (pbuh) recited to them Qur'anic verses that deepened this meaning in their souls. He recited,

﴿*So hold you (O Muhammad) fast to that which is inspired in you. Verily, you are on a Straight Path.*﴾

(Az-Zukhruf: 43)

﴾*So put your trust in Allah; surely, you (O Muhammad) are on manifest truth.*﴿

(An-Naml: 79)

﴾*Then We have put you (O Muhammad) on a plain way of (Our) commandment. So follow you that (legal ways of Islamic Monotheism and its laws), and follow not the desires of those who know not.*﴿

(Al-Jathiyah: 18)

﴾*But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.*﴿

(An-Nisa': 65)

The second feeling: to be proud of this Message

He (pbuh) taught them that as long as they are of the people of truth who shoulder the responsibility of the Message, while others are straying in darkness, and as long as they have the Qur'anic Guidance, then they are to be the teachers of the people. The Ever-honorable Qur'an confirmed this meaning and made it clear, and they started to receive the Revelation from the Prophet (pbuh):

﴾*You [true believers in Islamic Monotheism, and real followers of Prophet Muhammad and his Sunnah] are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind; you enjoin Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam has ordained) and forbid Al-Munkar (polytheism, disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden), and you believe in Allah...*﴿

(Al `Imran: 110)

﴾*Thus We have made you [true Muslims - real believers of Islamic Monotheism, true followers of Prophet Muhammad and his Sunnah], a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind and the Messenger (Muhammad) be a witness over you...*﴿

(Al-Baqarah: 143)

﴾*And strive hard in Allah's Cause as you ought to strive (with sincerity and with all your efforts that His Name should be superior). He has chosen you (to convey His Message of Islamic Monotheism), and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship...*﴿

(Al-Hajj: 78)

The third feeling: to hope that Allah will support it

The Prophet also (pbuh) taught his Companions that as long as they believe in this truth and are proud of being attributed to it, Allah the Almighty will be with them; He will help, guide, and support them if people forsake them and will protect them if they lack protectors. And, if people do not fight with them, He will send them soldiers from the Heavens. These meanings are very clear in the Book of Allah:

﴾*... Verily, the earth is Allah's. He gives it as a heritage to whom He will of His slaves, and the (blessed) end is for the Muttaqun (pious)'.*﴿

(Al-A`raf: 128)

﴾*... that My righteous slaves shall inherit the land (i.e. the land of Paradise).*﴿

(Al-Anbiya': 105)

﴾... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.*﴿

(Al-Hajj: 40)

﴾*Allah has decreed: 'Verily! It is I and My Messengers who shall be the victorious'. Verily, Allah is All-Powerful, All-Mighty.*﴿

(Al-Mujadalah: 21)

﴾... *And Allah has full power and control over His Affairs, but most of men know not.*﴿

(Yusuf: 21)

﴾*(Remember) when your Lord inspired the angels, 'Verily, I am with you, so keep firm those who have believed...'*﴿

(Al-Anfal: 12)

﴾... *and it was due from Us to aid those who believed.*﴿

(Ar-Rum: 47)

﴾*And We wished to do a favour to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land...*﴿

(Al-Qasas: 5)

(Our Call in a New Phase)

It is a strategic art to formulate the psychological capacity of people and affect their feelings. The question is: how did the West succeed in formulating this capacity for its defeated nations throughout ten centuries?

How did the Japanese, Germans, Chinese, and Jews succeed to do so, and how was the psychological capacity drawn away from our *Ummah* after it had been ahead of all the other nations until the middle of the sixteenth century? This question is very

serious. We present it to all those who are concerned about the revival process as well as to the Muslims who discourage others and call them to adhere to the West.

However, we re-confirm that the driving power or psychological capacity is one of the most important conditions and laws required for the creation of a continuous revival, as Imam al-Banna explained.

The third law: self change

> ﴿... *Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves...*﴾
>
> (Ar-Ra`d: 11)

In this connection, Imam al-Banna stated,

> "This is the law of Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) and His norm in terms of His creation; you will find no alteration in Allah's norms: ﴿... *Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves...*﴾ (Ar-Ra`d: 11) This is elaborated by the Prophet (pbuh) in a hadith: *'There will be nations about to advance upon you as people eat from a dinner plate.'* Someone asked, 'Is it because we will be few at that time?' He replied, *'No indeed, you will be many at that time, but you will be rubbish like the rubbish borne along by a flash flood, and Allah will surely remove the fear of you from the hearts of your enemies, and He will surely cast wahan into your hearts.'* Someone asked, 'O Messenger of Allah, what is "*wahan*"? He said, *'To love this world and hate death.'*

> Do you not see that the Prophet (pbuh) stressed on the causes of the weakness and humiliation of nations and concluded that it is the feebleness of their spirit, the weakness of their minds, and the emptiness of their hearts which are devoid of any morality and the true qualities of manliness, even if they are many in number and their resources and products are abundant? A nation that wallows in luxury, grows accustomed to affluence, drowns itself in the charms of material existence, is seduced by the glamour of the life in this world, forgets how to bear hardship and misfortune, and neglects to strive in Allah's way, will inevitably bid farewell to all its glory and hope."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

It is binding that a positive change takes place in the world of ideas, feelings, systems, and relations, namely, the world of the inner self. When this occurs, the world around us will change. This is the third fact.

The fourth law: movement and initiation

Imam al-Banna specified these requirements saying,

> "The creation of nations, the education of people, the realization of hopes, and the defense of principles, require that the nation which tries to achieve this or the group which is calling for it, has at the very least a mighty spiritual strength which may be manifested in numerous ways:
>
> 1. a strong will into which no weakness can penetrate;
>
> 2. a steady loyalty, unassailable by fickleness or treachery;
>
> 3. a noble spirit of self sacrifice, unaffected by greed or avarice;

4. and a knowledge of the principles, having faith in them, and evaluating them, which protects one from error when trying to achieve them, and ensures that there is no deviation, quibbling, or betrayal about it.

Upon these basic pillars which are from the characteristics of the soul, as well as upon this extraordinary spiritual strength, high principles will be constructed, resurgent nations will create educated and zealous people, and life will be renewed in those who have been deprived of it for many years. People that have lost these four qualities, or at any rate, whose leaders and invitors of reform have lost them, are a wretched and frivolous people who can neither come to any good nor accomplish their hopes. They live in a world of dreams, idle speculation, and fancies. ﴿... *Certainly, conjecture can be of no avail against the truth.*﴾ (Yunus: 36)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Here comes the correct starting point with a proper psychological mode. Once a nation is psychologically defeated, it has subjected itself to humiliation and disgrace. Our efforts should rely from the very beginning on psychological resurgence and knowledge. Actually, Divine justice always goes to the nation that is certainly sure of itself and its strength and knows how to obtain victory.

The fifth law: the qualifications of success of ideas (youths)

Imam al-Banna concentrated on the Muslim youths as the backbone of the revival. He stressed on four characteristics

which are connected to youths and sufficient to bring about a strong, consistent revival. He said,

> "Surely an idea succeeds when there is strong belief, sincerity, enthusiasm, as well as active preparation that drives its proponents to achieve it. These four characteristics, i.e. belief, sincerity, enthusiasm, and activity, seem to be mostly connected to youths. This is because the basis of belief is a pure heart, the basis of sincerity is uncorrupted aptitude, the basis of enthusiasm is intense feeling, and the basis of activity is unrelenting determination; these bases are only available to youths. Hence, youths have always been the pillar of the revival of nations, the driving power of their revival movements, and the standard bearers of their ideas: ﴿... *Truly! They were young men who believed in their Lord (Allah), and We increased them in guidance.*﴾ (Al-Kahf: 13)"

(To Youths)

In consequence to this, a nation that wants to rise should inculcate the idea of the revival and working for it in its youths, for they are the basic social genes that bear these characteristics more than others.

The sixth law: preparation of men

A striving nation needs to build its people's souls and morals and implants true manhood in their hearts in order to be able to overcome the obstacles and hardships that they will face.

Speaking about the true criterion of the revival and the principal indicator of the strength of a nation, Imam al-Banna said,

"Man is the secret of the vitality and revival of nations, and the history of all nations is in fact the history of their men who enjoyed genius and strong will. That is why the strength or weakness of a nation is measured by its production of men who have the requirements of true manliness."

(Are We Practical People?)

Thus the issue of education occupies the center of the revival process and becomes an issue of the existence of the nation and the community, and not merely a local affair.

The seventh law: the primary requirements of the revival

Imam al-Banna said,

"If you refer to the history of revivals in different nations, eastern and western, ancient and recent, you will observe that every group that adopted a successful revival movement had a definite method that they followed, and a definite aim that they sought and that was determined by those who called for the revival and made efforts to attain it so far as they could and as long as they lived. When their lives came to an end, they were followed by others from among their people, who followed the method that their predecessors had determined; started where they had left off; did not disconnect what they had connected or destroy what they had built; nor did they devastate what they had established or ruin what they had populated; so they either added more improvement to their accomplishments, increased the strength of their output, or sought to complete what they had started. Thus they made further steps towards

the prospective goal, until they reached it and thus achieved the hopes of their nation, or they might die leaving guidance to their successors who would follow the same method, and so on and so forth until hopes came true and the proposed revival was fulfilled. ﴾*So whosoever does good equal to the weight of an atom (or a small ant), shall see it.*﴿ *(Az-Zalzalah: 7)"*

(Are We Practical People?)

According to this, the requirements of the revival are:

1. A definite aim.
2. A definite method that leads to the proposed aim.
3. Callers to work for applying this line of action.
4. Followers to work according to this line of action and continue construction.

Here Imam al-Banna concentrated on an essential matter that should be correctly handled when carrying out the revival project and that should ever be put into action throughout the execution process, that is, the goal should be clear, the energies of the workers should be gathered together, and one generation should continue working from the point at which the previous generation has stopped. This means there should be constancy and continuation instead of starting every time from the very beginning, which wastes effort and makes it difficult to achieve the revival project.

The eighth law: the criterion of the *da`wah* work

Imam al-Banna deduced a law in which he specified a criterion and a good indicator with which the result of the effort made for the revival project can be known. He said,

"The goal can only be fully achieved with

1. public propaganda (public opinion),

2. many supporters (relation net),

3. and solid structure (establishment of foundations)."

(The Fifth Conference)

This means that all sections of the *Ummah* should participate in the revival project on the basis of spreading among the people, establishing relations with them, and constitutional construction.

The ninth law: human rectification

﴿... *for had it not been that Allah checks one set of people by means of another, monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, wherein the Name of Allah is mentioned much would surely have been pulled down...*﴾

(Al-Hajj: 40)

﴿... *And if Allah did not check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief...*﴾

(Al-Baqarah: 251)

﴿... *thus does Allah (by parables) show forth truth and falsehood. Then, as for the foam it passes away as scum upon the banks, while that which is for the good of mankind remains in the earth...*﴾

(Ar-Ra`d: 17)

﴿... *And Allah wipes out falsehood, and establishes the truth (Islam) by His Word (this Qur'an)...*﴾

(Ash-Shura: 24)

﴾*Nay, We fling (send down) the truth (this Qur'an) against the falsehood (disbelief), so it destroys it, and behold, it (falsehood) is vanished...*﴿

(Al-Anbiya`: 18)

Imam al-Banna said,

"Circumstances have led us to be raised among this generation where nations struggle violently against one another for survival and where victory always goes to the stronger. Circumstances have also led us to face the bitter results of the deficiencies that we have inherited from the past, to provide the remedy for them, to rescue ourselves and our children, to restore our glory, and to revive our civilization and the instructions of our religion."

"Circumstances obliged us to face all this, and to rescue the nation from the surrounding danger. A nation which is surrounded by circumstances like those by which we are surrounded, which seeks to fulfil a mission like our mission, and which faces duties like those which we face, will gain no benefit if it seeks a way out through temporary remedies or through hopes and wishes. Instead, such a nation must prepare itself for a prolonged and violent struggle between truth and falsehood, between the beneficial and the harmful, between the people whose rights have been undermined and their usurpers, between those who adhere to the way of struggle and those who have deviated from it, and between the sincere and those who pretend. This nation should also know that *jihad* requires effort and sacrifice and that it experiences rest only when the struggle has achieved the prospective goals; only then can the strivers find rest."

(Are We Practical People?)

There can be no revival without action, confrontation, rectification, struggle, and fighting. This fact is verified by historical events and confirmed by the present status quo. So, the nation that seeks resurgence should utilize its energy altogether for confrontation. This is the second fact that Imam al-Banna drew the Muslims' attention to.

The tenth law: perception of opportunities

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Time will inevitably lead to many great incidents, and there will be numerous opportunities for great deeds. The world awaits your Call - the call of righteousness, success, and peace - so that it can liberate itself from its pains. It is time for you then, to assume the leadership and guidance of the world, as Allah has promised that nations rise and fall. Furthermore, we have every reason to hope, as we hope from Allah what they do not. Therefore, prepare yourself and persist in your activity..."

(The Fifth Conference)

According to Imam al-Banna's thinking, these are the lessons or laws that govern the revival process and, Allah willing, secure the qualifications for success of its project. This will finally lead to the establishment of a revived community that will enjoy a prosperous comfortable life and constant progress and development.

The eleventh law: circulation and civilizational exchange

Imam al-Banna said,

"Know and learn that nations, in terms of their strength and weakness, youth and old age, health and sickness, are like human individuals, without exception... They can only be cured by these means: location of the ailment, endurance to put up with the pain of the treatment, and an expert who will undertake it. How truthful are the words of Allah:

﴿*Many similar ways (and mishaps of life) were faced by nations (believers and disbelievers) that have passed away before you, so travel through the earth, and see what was the end of those who disbelieved (in the Oneness of Allah, and disobeyed Him and His Messengers). This (the Qur'an) is a plain statement for mankind, a guidance and instruction to those who are Al-Muttaqun (the pious). So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory) if you are indeed (true) believers. If a wound (and killing) has touched you, be sure a similar wound (and killing) has touched the others. And so are the days (good and not so good), We give to men by turns, that Allah may test those who believe, and that He may take martyrs from among you, and Allah likes not the Zalimun (polytheists and wrong doers), and that Allah may test (or purify) the believers (from sins) and destroy the disbelievers.*﴾ (Al 'Imran: 137-141)"

(Our Call)

I (the author) would like to say that the law of circulation should be applied to everybody, and all Muslims should prepare themselves for the future events which will inevitably come. The only thing that is positively effective, is that we prepare ourselves, move, use the suitable and available means, and then put our trust in Allah the Almighty.

While portraying this deep and significant historical description, which involves closely related words like "ways," "giving by turns," and "testing," the Ever-honorable Qur'an introduces a basic rule elucidating its position to states, human experiences, and civilizations. It declares from the very beginning, the non-continuation of any of these facts and does not exclude Islam or Muslims from this law. Besides, Allah the Almighty says in the verse *"a plain statement for mankind"* which refers to the generality of this inescapable law or way that is basically absorbed in human action itself. This is because this "giving by turns" denotes ceaseless movement, renewal, and human hope that rejects stagnation and longs to move towards a positive civilizational action, which will enable it to restore its civilizational identity.

Islam admits the collapse of states and civilizations when civilizational diseases condense in the form of a phenomenon which the Qur'an calls "exchanging" or "following after," as observed in the following verses:

> ﴿*... And if you turn away (from Islam and the obedience of Allah), He will exchange you for some other people, and they will not be your likes.*﴾
>
> (Muhammad: 38)

> ﴿*Then We made you follow after them, generations after generations in the land, that We might see how you would work!*﴾
>
> (Yunus: 14)

As a matter of fact, our *Ummah* is standing at a crossroad. So, once this law is deeply rooted in its members, they should start preparing themselves to play the role they are entitled to.

The twelfth law: the seven pillars of the revival

Imam al-Banna said,

> "There is no regime in this world which can supply the forthcoming nation with what it requires in the way of institutions, principles, objectives, and judgements to the same extent as Islam can. The Noble Qur'an is full of passages describing this particular aspect, giving both general and detailed examples. It provides a clear and precise remedy. No nation adheres to it without succeeding in its aspirations."

(Towards the Light)

According to the analysis of Imam al-Banna, Islam can provide an upcoming nation with the following pillars or elements of power:

1. Broad, far reaching vision
2. National greatness
3. Power
4. Science
5. Morality
6. Economics
7. Systematization

Furthermore, Imam al-Banna discussed these elements in detail in the tract *Towards the Light*. The following is a synopsis of this detailed overture:

The first pillar: broad, far reaching vision

Imam al-Banna said that an upcoming nation needs a broad and far reaching vision. The Qur'an has cultivated in its nations this sentiment, in a manner which makes a dead nation come to life, full of ambition, hope, and determination. It is enough that it labels despair as a road to unbelief, and hopelessness as a manifestation of error. Read the words of the Almighty:

﴾*And We wished to do a favour to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land, and to make them rulers and to make them the inheritors, and to establish them in the land...*﴿

(Al-Qasas: 5-6)

﴾*So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory) if you are indeed (true) believers. If a wound (and killing) has touched you, be sure a similar wound (and killing) has touched the others. And so are the days (good and not so good), We give to men by turns...*﴿

(Al `Imran: 139-140)

﴾*He it is Who drove out the disbelievers among the people of the Scripture (i.e. the Jews of the tribe of Banu An-Nadir) from their homes at the first gathering. You did not think that they would get out. And they thought that their fortresses would defend them from Allah! But Allah's (Torment) reached them from a place whereof they expected it not, and He cast terror into their hearts, so that they destroyed their own dwellings with their own hands and the hands of the believers. Then take admonition, O you with eyes (to see).*﴿

(Al-Hashr: 2)

﴾*Or think you that you will enter Paradise without such (trials) as came to those who passed away before you? They were afflicted with severe poverty and ailments and were so shaken that even the Messenger and those who believed along with him said, 'When (will come) the Help of Allah?' Yes! Certainly, the Help of Allah is near!*﴿

(Al-Baqarah: 214)

The second pillar: national greatness

According to Imam al-Banna, upcoming nations need to feel proud of their nationalism as a superior nation that has superb merits and great history, so that their image be imprinted in the minds of their sons, and they offer their blood and lives on behalf of this glory and nobility, so that they work for the welfare of their homeland, for its pride and prosperity. Contemplate the following words of Allah:

﴾*You [true believers in Islamic Monotheism, and real followers of Prophet Muhammad and his Sunnah] are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind...*﴿

(Al `Imran: 110)

﴾*Thus We have made you [true Muslims - real believers of Islamic Monotheism, true followers of Prophet Muhammad and his Sunnah], a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind and the Messenger (Muhammad) be a witness over you...*﴿

(Al-Baqarah: 143)

﴾*But honour, power and glory belong to Allah, His Messenger (Muhammad), and to the believers...*﴿

(Al-Munafiqun: 8)

The third pillar: power

Imam al-Banna confirmed that upcoming nations require strength, and need to implant military spirit into their people, especially in these times when peace can only be guaranteed by preparing for war, and the slogan of its people is:

﴾*And make ready against them all you can of power, including steeds of war (tanks, planes, missiles, artillery, etc.) to threaten the enemy of Allah and your enemy...*﴿

(Al-Anfal: 60)

﴾*Jihad (holy fighting in Allah's Cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it, and it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you like a thing which is bad for you...*﴿

(Al-Baqarah: 216)

﴾*Let those (believers) who sell the life of this world for the Hereafter fight in the Cause of Allah...*﴿

(An-Nisa': 74)

﴾*Verily, Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in rows (ranks) as if they were a solid structure.*﴿

(As-Saff: 4)

The fourth pillar: science

Imam al-Banna viewed that just as nations need power, they also need the science which supports this power and directs it in the best possible manner, providing them with all that they require in the way of inventions and discoveries. Let us read the following Qur'anic verses:

﴾*Read! In the Name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists), -has created man from a clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous, Who has taught (the writing) by the pen, -has taught man that which he knew not.*﴿

(Al-`Alaq: 1-5)

﴾*... Say: 'Are those who know equal to those who know not?' It is only men of understanding who will remember (i.e. get a lesson from Allah's Signs and Verses).*﴿

(Az-Zumar: 9)

﴾*See you not that Allah sends down water (rain) from the sky, and We produce therewith fruits of varying colours, and among the mountains are streaks white and red, of varying colours and (others) very black. And of men and Ad Dawab (moving living creatures, beasts, etc.), and cattle, in like manner of various colours. It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allah...*﴿

(Fatir: 27-28)

The fifth pillar: morality

Imam al-Banna stressed the fact that an upcoming nation, above everything, needs to set a dignified and established moral code, together with a magnanimous spirit fired by elevated aspirations. This is because it will have to meet the demands of the new age, which cannot be fulfilled unless it possesses sincere and strong morals founded on deep faith, unwavering determination, great self sacrifice, and considerable tolerance. Allah the Almighty says,

﴾*Indeed he succeeds who purifies his ownself. And indeed he fails who corrupts his ownself.*﴿

(Ash-Shams: 9-10)

﴾*... Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves...*﴿

(Ar-Ra`d: 11)

﴾*Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with Allah, of them some have fulfilled their obligations (i.e. have been martyred), and some of them are still waiting, but they have never changed [i.e. they never proved treacherous to their covenant which they concluded with Allah] in the least. That Allah may reward the men of truth for their truth...*﴿

(Al-Ahzab: 23-24)

The sixth pillar: economics

Imam al-Banna showed how important money and economics are for an upcoming nation, saying that a rising nation also needs to regulate its economic affairs. This has been the most important question of this recent age. Let us read the verse that says,

﴾*And give not unto the foolish your property which Allah has made a means of support for you...*﴿

(An-Nisa': 5)

And let us understand the Prophetic *hadith*,

"How excellent is righteous wealth for a righteous man".

The seventh pillar: systematization

Eventually, Imam al-Banna affirmed that besides the above-mentioned pillars, which are directly connected with the revival of nations, Islam presents systems covering all fields from the individual to the international community for establishing a developed and prosperous community. In this regard, Imam al-Banna said,

> "This is one of the beautiful aspects of the Islamic system, typically found in resurgent nations, bearing in mind that we are in an era of resurgence. As for reviewing all the beautiful aspects of this Islamic resurgence, it would require voluminous, vast, and far-flung investigations. It is enough to say a few concise words on the aspects of this beauty: the Islamic system with respect to the individual, the nation, the family, the relationship between the government and its people and its relationship with other nations, has managed to bring together that which is all encompassing and general with that which is very precise and elaborate and has chosen the common good as well as giving it clarity. The Islamic system is the most perfect and most beneficial system known to mankind. This is supported by history and laborious research in every aspect in the life of the nation."

(Towards the Light)

Actually, each one of these seven pillars requires research and accurate investigation. Imam al-Banna put the trilogy of "morality, science, and power" in the center of these seven elements as a principal motivator of the revival process. Every one who works for the sake of the revival should fully

understand the conception of morality, science, and power, whether at the level of assemblies and bodies or at the level of the *Ummah* and community as a whole.

How to Deal with These Laws and Ways

The first condition required for dealing with the Divine ways and universal laws in individuals, communities, and nations, is to understand these laws and ways comprehensively. But how should we work in conformity with the Divine laws and deduce in the light of our understanding of social laws and cultural equations?

Specifying the methodology of dealing with these ways and laws, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Do not fight the forces of nature, because they will always win. Enjoy the benefit of their service by changing their direction. Seek their help against themselves and wait for the hour of victory."

(The Fifth Conference)

Accordingly, Imam al-Banna's methodology of dealing with the Divine ways and cosmic laws requires the following elements:

1. Not fighting the forces of nature
2. Dealing with it in a suitable, useful way
3. Enjoying the benefit of its service
4. Changing its direction
5. Seeking its help against itself
6. Waiting for the hour of victory

After studying history and the status quo of the *Ummah*, deriving lessons, and deducing the method of preparation to revive the *Ummah*, Imam al-Banna concluded that this knowledge and study is not for mere storage, rather it is for motivation that leads to the achievement of the prospective project of the revival. Imam al-Banna said,

> "So establish your revival on the basis of these solid pillars, be righteous, adhere to your Call, and lead the nation to goodness. May Allah support you and bless your work!"

(The Fifth Conference)

Thus, rescuing the *Ummah* obligates the resurrection of this project in order to be in conformity with the nature of the crisis and the historical dilemma which the *Ummah* is going through, as well as with the magnificent role that Allah has commanded its members to play. This is because this *Ummah* is the best of nations - if it fulfills the conditions required - and whose members are entitled to the last Message, promised that they will be granted succession (to the present rulers) and the authority to practice their religion, ordered to populate the earth, and who will be witnesses over mankind.

I believe this project is based on two essential pillars:

1. The Call (systematization of practical efforts)

2. The State (the political entity)

These two pillars will be discussed in detail in the next two parts.

II

THE CALL FOR THE REVIVAL PROJECT

Chapter One:

Bases and Characteristics of the Call

Chapter Two:

The Reference of the Revival Project

Chapter Three:

The Goal of the Call

Chapter Four:

The Elements of the Call

Chapter Five:

The *Tarbiyah*-based Construction of the Call

Describing the context in which the call fo the revival existed, Imam al-Banna said in his great tract *Between Yesterday and Today*,

> "We can say that the Western civilization, has triumphed over the Islamic civilization in its social struggle. This has occurred on Muslim land, not only militarily but spiritually and ideologically as well. No wonder is wasted here, for what is strong is wholly strong, and what is weak is wholly weak.
>
> ﴾*... And so are the days (good and not so good), We give to men by turns...*﴿
>
> (Al 'Imran: 40)
>
> Just as political aggression had its effect in arousing nationalist feelings, so has social aggression in reviving the Islamic ideology. Voices have risen in every land, demanding a return to Islam, an understanding of its precepts, and an application of its rules. The day must soon come when the walls of this materialistic civilization will come down upon the heads of its inhabitants. Then, their hearts and souls will burn with a spiritual hunger but they will find no sustenance, no healing, no remedy, except in the teachings of this Noble Book:
>
> ﴾*O mankind! There has come to you a good advice from your Lord (i.e. the Qur'an, ordering all that is good and forbidding all that is evil), and a healing for that (disease of ignorance, doubt, hypocrisy and differences, etc. in your breasts, - a guidance and a mercy (explaining lawful and unlawful things, etc.) for the believers. Say: 'In the Bounty*

of Allah, and in His Mercy (i.e. Islam and the Qur'an)-therein let them rejoice'. That is better than what (the wealth) they amass. ﴾ (Yunus: 57-58)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

In this historical predicament which the *Ummah* had fallen into, Imam al-Banna's Call appeared. Through this Call, he wanted to present his Islamic project of the revival aiming to rescue the *Ummah* and rid it of this crisis. He realized from the very beginning how hard this task is and how important it is to history. He said, calling upon the Muslim Brothers:

"Thus dear Brothers, it is Allah's will that we are the inheritors of this legacy; no matter what the consequences, the light of your Call glows amidst this darkness; He has chosen you to exalt His Word, to bring back the *Shari`ah* and re-establish His state: ﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.* ﴾ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Chapter One

Bases and Characteristics of the Call

- The Ideological Basis (Islam)
- Ideological Characteristics
- Historical Validity
- The Civilizational Extension

The Ideological Basis (Islam)

From the first day of his Call, Imam al-Banna stressed on the idea that Islam is the supreme, basic source of the Call:

> "Dear Brothers, it is fitting that we remember we are conveying the loftiest of messages - that of Allah; that we are advocating the most powerful system - the Islamic ideology; and that we are offering to mankind the most just law - the Sacred Law of the Qur'an: ﴿*[Our Sibghah (religion) is] the Sibghah (Religion) of Allah (Islam) and which Sibghah (religion) can be better than Allah's?...*﴾ (Al-Baqarah: 138) For sure the entire world is in need of this message, which is smoothing out and preparing the world to take this path."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

He detailed this in another tract saying,

> "We certainly believe that there is only one idea which bears the salvation of the suffering and confused humanity and guides people to the right way. This idea deserves that we sacrifice our souls, property, and everything, in order to declare it, call for it, and drive people to adopt it. This idea is Islam, the religion of true monotheism, which contains no crookedness, with which there is no evil, and no error rests upon whomever follows it:

﴿Allah bears witness that La ilaha illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), and the angels, and those having knowledge (also give this witness); (He is always) maintaining His creation in Justice. La ilah illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the All-Mighty, the All-Wise. Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam...﴾

(Al 'Imran: 18-19)

﴿... This day, I have perfected your religion for you, completed My Favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion...﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 3)

Thus, our idea is purely Islamic; its basis is Islam from which it derives its entity and identity and for which it strives; its main concern is to raise its word high; it only accepts its system and leadership and only obeys its instructions. *﴿And whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will never be accepted of him...﴾* (Al 'Imran: 85)"

(To Youths)

Imam al-Banna also confirmed the fact that Allah has included in the religion of Islam all the principles required for a nation to be happy, prosperous, and resurgent:

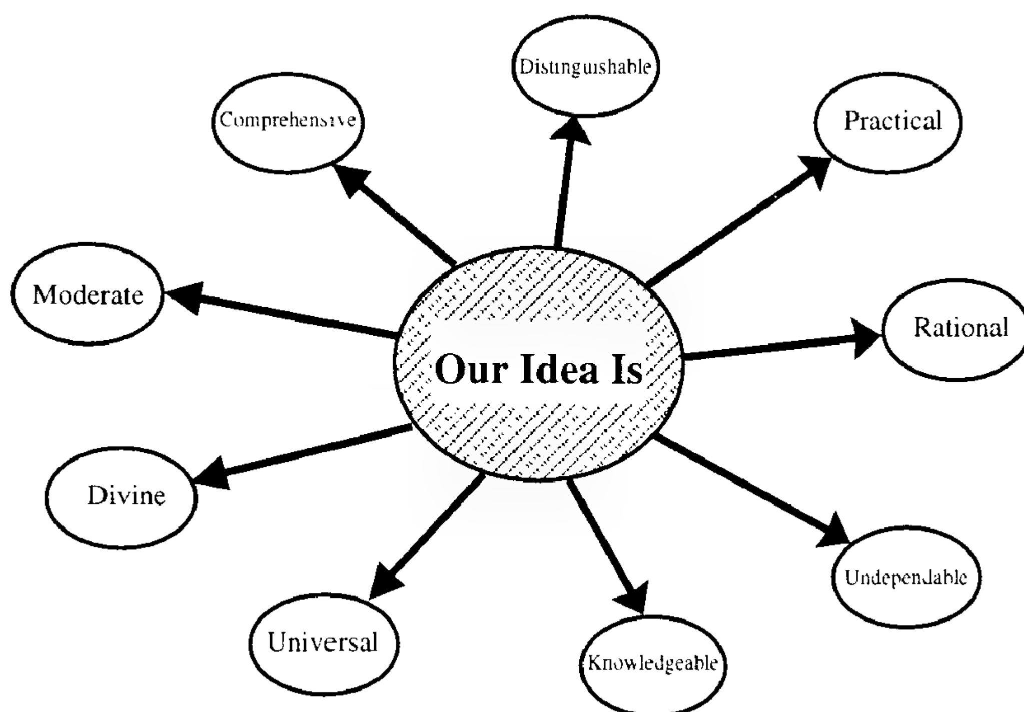
"The Muslim Brotherhood believe that when Allah sent down the Qur'an and commanded His worshipers to follow Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), He chose for them Islam as their religion, incorporating within it all the fundamentals necessary for a nation to live, advance, and prosper. This is confirmed in the words of Allah:

﴾*Those who follow the Messenger, the Prophet who can neither read nor write (i.e. Muhammad) whom they find written with them in the Tawrah (Torah) and the Injil (Gospel), -he commands them for Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam has ordained); and forbids them from Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism of all kinds, and all that Islam has forbidden); he allows them as lawful At-Tayyibat [(i.e. all good and lawful) as regards things, deeds, beliefs, persons, foods, etc.], and prohibits them as unlawful Al-Khaba'ith (i.e. all evil and unlawful as regards things, deeds, beliefs, persons, foods, etc.); and he releases them from their heavy burdens (of Allah's Covenant), and from the fetters (bindings) that were upon them.*﴿ (Al-A`raf: 157)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Ideological Characteristics

This Call has a number of characteristics that distinguish it from the other calls. These characteristics represent the essence of the idea on which the civilizational project of the revival is based. Hence, each one of these characteristics has its own indicative references with regard to the different aspects of the life of the community, political, economic, social, and cultural, and so on. There are nine characteristics which Imam al-Banna mentioned in this regard in more than one place in his tracts. They can be outlined in the following diagram:



These characteristics will be illuminated through the tracts of Imam al-Banna, as follows:

1. Divine

Imam al-Banna said,

> "It is divine because all our goals revolve around the principle that man should recognize and be familiar with his Lord and should generate from this submission, an immense level of spirituality that would enable him to free himself from the shackles of materialism which have abandoned the very notion of humanity; its essence and beauty. We are the Muslim Brotherhood, and we call out from the depths of our hearts: "Allah is our ultimate goal". The foremost aim of our Call, is that the people should recall their relationship with Allah the Most High. They forgot this relationship so He made them forget their own selves:
>
> ﴿*O mankind! Worship your Lord (Allah), Who created you and those who were before you so that you may become Al-Muttaqun (the pious).*﴾
>
> (Al-Baqarah: 21)
>
> In reality this is the master key, which can resolve the problems of humanity, which has been undermined by stagnation and materialism. It is a problem that mankind cannot solve by itself nor by using any other key."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

2. Universal

"The Call is universal, because it is directed towards the whole of mankind, and mankind in its view are brothers:

their origin is one, their father is one, and their descent is one. They have no preference over one another except by the extent of being dutiful to (and conscious of) Allah and the contribution they make of good and benefit to all humanity. Allah the Almighty says,

﴾*O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife [Hawwa' (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women and fear Allah through Whom you demand your mutual (rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allah is Ever an All Watcher over you.*﴿

(An-Nisa': 1)

Therefore, we do not believe in racism nor do we advocate discrimination in terms of color and race, but we call for the true sense of brotherhood between all mankind."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

3. Distinguishable

"Respected friends! Do not misinterpret me when using the term “Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood”. It is not my understanding at all that the Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood is a new Islam and it is not my understanding that the Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood is different from the Islam which our leader Muhammad (pbuh) brought. What I mean is that many Muslims throughout the ages qualified Islam with many attributes, descriptions, and limitations from themselves and they have misused its

flexibility and easiness. This caused emense differences in the understanding of Islam and many pictures of Islam were painted into the hearts of people, which were sometimes in accordance and sometimes not with the best picture which was presented by the Last Messenger (pbuh) and his Companions...

As Muslim Brothers always remain attached to the Book of Allah and seek their guidance and benefit only from it, they are therefore certain that this vast and comprehensive understanding of the religion is necessary, and that it is inevitable that Islam should cover all matters of life. Therefore, we should obtain its light of guidance in all matters. All should be subservient to its principles and teachings. All of the above is correct as long as the*Ummah*desires to follow Islam completely."

(The Fifth Conference)

4. Comprehensive

"The outcome of Al-Ikhwan's vast, comprehensive, and universal concept of Islam was that it covers all the aspects of reform. It absorbed within itself the better elements of the thinking of all the schools of reform, and every sincere and modest reformer placed his hopes in it. To those conciliatory souls who recognized it and understood its objectives and aspirations, it became the center of their hopes. Therefore we can say that Al-Ikhwan is a *salafi*[1]

1. *Salafi* here means inviting people to return to the path of the Early Muslims (Salaf).

Call... a *sunni*[1] way of thought... a true mysticism or sufiism... a political organization... a physically-trained team... an institution of culture and knowledge... a commercial firm... and a social system... In this way, the comprehensiveness of the Islamic thought has made our thinking a combi nation of all the facets of reformation. All these aspects have come within the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood, whereas other groups may lean to one side only. The Muslim Brotherhood attend to all forms of activities, as Islam demands attention to all aspects of life."

(The Fifth Conference)

Imam al-Banna summarized the meaning of this characteristic in the following words:

"Islam is a comprehensive system which deals with all spheres of life. It is a country and homeland or a government and a nation. It is conduct and power or mercy and justice. It is a culture and a law or knowledge and jurisprudence. It is material and wealth or gain and prosperity. It is *jihad* and a call or army and a cause. And finally, it is true belief and correct worship."

(The Teachings)

He also said, confirming the importance of this characteristic to the thought and belief of all humanity until the Day of Judgment:

"... but you people should know that we are an idea and a creed, a system and a program, which is not limited to a

1. *Sunni* here means following the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (pbuh).

place, restricted by a race, hindered by a geographical boundary, or concluded by anything whatsoever until the Day of Resurrection. This is because it is the system of the Lord of the worlds and the program of His faithful Messenger (pbuh)."

(Under the Standard of the Qur'an)

5. Knowledgeable

Affirming the importance of knowledge to the revival project, Imam al-Banna said,

"Just as nations need power, they also need the science which supports this power and directs it in the best possible manner, providing them with all that they require in the way of inventions and discoveries. Islam does not reject science; indeed, it makes it as obligatory as the acquisition of power, and gives it its support... Islam has given the same weight to the ink of scholars as to the blood of martyrs. The Qur'an links science and power together in the following noble verses:

﴿*And it is not (proper) for the believers to go out to fight (jihad) all together. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may get instructions in (Islamic) religion, and that they may warn their people when they return to them, so that they may beware (of evil). O you who believe! Fight those of the disbelievers who are close to you, and let them find harshness in you, and know that Allah is with those who are the Al-Muttaqun (the pious).*﴾

(At-Tawbah: 122-123)

The Qur'an does not distinguish between the natural and religious sciences, but advocates both. It sums up the natural sciences in one verse, by encouraging man to study them. And, to understand and be familiar with the universe is a way of revering Allah and a path towards knowing Him. This is what the Almighty says,

﴿*See you not that Allah sends down water (rain) from the sky, and We produce therewith fruits of varying colours, and among the mountains are streaks white and red, of varying colours and (others) very black. And of men and Ad Dawab (moving living creatures, beasts, etc.), and cattle, in like manner of various colours. It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allah...*﴾ (Fatir: 27-28)"

(Towards the Light)

6. Rational

Imam al-Banna said about this characteristic,

"Muslim Brothers! Check your emotions with the controls of wisdom and stimulate your thought by your emotions. Check your dreams with reality, and ascertain reality in the light of your dreams. Never lean too much towards one way that you may lose your balance. Do not fight the forces of nature, because they will always win. Enjoy the benefit of their service by changing their direction. Seek their help against themselves and wait for the hour of victory."

(The Fifth Conference)

7. Undependable

"It is a Call which does not tolerate divided loyalties, since its very nature is one of complete unity, and whosoever is prepared to accept it will live through it as it lives through him. Whosoever is too weak to shoulder this burden will be deprived of the reward of those who strive, and will remain behind with the backsliders and the idle. Thus, Allah will replace him with others who will carry His call: ﴿*...humble towards the believers, stern towards the disbelievers, fighting in the Way of Allah, and never afraid of the blame of the blamers. That is the Grace of Allah which He bestows on whom He wills...*﴾ (Al-Ma'idah: 54)"

(Our Call)

8. Practical

Imam al-Banna explained why this characteristic is imperative, saying,

"There are certain reasons that drive Al-Ikhwan to prefer the practical and constructive aspects of the work rather than mere propaganda and publicity. These reasons include the guidance which Islam has given in this connection and the fear that our work may acquire a hint of ostentation (*riya'*) and consequently be destroyed. There should be a balance between this view and the argument that virtue should be publicized, but this is a sensitive matter which is not possible without the assistance of Allah. There is also the fact that the Muslim Brothers are naturally disgusted because people depend on false propaganda and empty

words which bear no good fruit. Additionally, Al-Ikhwan feared that the Call would face intense hostilities or the association of harmful friendships. Both of these would be obstructive and dangerous for the objective."

(The Fifth Conference)

9. Moderate

Imam al-Banna said,

"Islam was founded according to a pattern of moderation and extreme justice... Today Muslims undoubtedly need this characteristic to enable them to present their ideology and Islamic project as a civilizational alternative to humanity that will be a witness over it. Allah the Almighty says,

﴿*Thus We have made you [true Muslims - real believers of Islamic Monotheism, true followers of Prophet Muhammad and his Sunnah], a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind and the Messenger (Muhammad) be a witness over you...*﴾ (Al-Baqarah: 143)"

(Towards the Light)

This condensed presentation of the bases of the Call and its ideological characteristics, shows that Islam is the principle source of our Call in general and our revival project in particular, as well as of the ideological characteristics that they both have. This is because Islam is a comprehensive religion and a perfect way of life.

Historical Validity

This section can be outlined through the following two articles:

The first article: the way of the first call

The concept of "validity" of the revival project springs from the instructions and rules of Islam, and its legality is based on the way of the very first call. Accordingly, the revival project is considered a natural extension of the revival of the early Muslims from which our project derives light and guidance. Outlining this view, Imam al-Banna said,

> "We desire to place our invitation on the lines of the very first call. We are trying to make this new call an echo of the initial one, which started in the valleys of Makkah about fourteen centuries ago. We are the first to return to this period, which was illuminated by the light of Prophethood, and that took its radiance from the glory of Revelation. We will stand before the first teacher (pbuh) who is the master of all guides and head of the rightly guided Prophets. We will learn from him once again the lessons of reformation and we will study the methods of invitation."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Providing more details about the first call, Imam al-Banna said,

"This universal Call marked the boundary for all creation, between a dark, oppressive past and a brilliant, shining future, as well as a prosperous and exuberant present. It was a clear announcement of a new order decreed by Allah, the All Knowing, the All Wise. Its herald was Muhammad, the bringer of glad tidings and the warner. Its Book was the Clear and Enlightening Qur'an. Its soldiers were the vanguards of the Muhajirun (Emigrants) and the Ansar (Helpers) and those who followed them in doing good. It was not contrived by man: it was rather a religion from Allah, for who is better than Allah in His religion?"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

The second article: renascence of the Islamic idea

It may be beneficial that we briefly display the historical stages which the Muslim *Ummah* underwent in order to simplify the historical course in which our Call appeared, as well as its historical roots and natural extension. These stages have been mentioned in detail in the first part of this book, but here they are in brief:

1. Declaring the birth of the universal call (the Call)
2. Establishing the first Islamic State (the State)
3. The beginning of resolution in the entity of the Islamic State (resolution)
4. Political rectification and struggle (political rectification)
5. Social rectification and struggle (social rectification)

6. The victory of the Western project and its control over Islamic project (Western surveillance)
7. The appearance of the call of renascence and salvation (renascence)

Specifying the phase of the reawakening of Islamic ideology after the political aggression waged against the *Ummah*, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Just as political aggression had its effect in arousing nationalist feelings, so has social aggression in reviving the Islamic ideology. Voices have risen in every land, demanding a return to Islam, an understanding of its precepts, and an application of its rules. The day must soon come when the walls of this materialistic civilization will come down upon the heads of its inhabitants. Then, their hearts and souls will burn with a spiritual hunger, but they will find no sustenance, no healing, no remedy, except in the teachings of this Noble Book:
>
> ﴿*O mankind! There has come to you a good advice from your Lord (i.e. the Qur'an), and a healing for that (disease of ignorance, doubt, hypocrisy and differences, etc.) in your breasts, - a guidance and a mercy (explaining lawful and unlawful things, etc.) for the believers. Say: 'In the Bounty of Allah, and in His Mercy (i.e. Islam and the Qur'an); -therein let them rejoice'. That is better than what (the wealth) they amass.*﴾ (Yunus: 57-58)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Then, he explained how the task that Al-Ikhwan are engaged in is hard and arduous:

"Thus dear Brothers, it is Allah's will that we are the inheritors of this legacy; no matter what the consequences, the light of your Call glows amidst this darkness; He has chosen you to exalt His Word, to bring back the *Shari`ah* and re-establish His state: ﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.*﴾ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Finally, specifying very clearly the nature of the new Call as an invitation of peace and salvation, and advising those who support this Call, Imam al-Banna said,

"I would like that you realize who you are in this age; the position of your Call among the other calls; the nature of your Organization; and for what purpose Allah has gathered you together, unified your hearts and objectives, and allowed your idea to appear at this hard time when the whole world is yearning for peace and salvation. Remember well, Brothers, that you are the reformers, who reform when people turn mischievous; that you are the new mind with which Allah wants to separate for people between truth and falsehood at a time when truth is mixed with falsehood in their sight; and that you are callers for Islam, bearers of the Qur'an, a link between heaven and earth, inheritors of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and successors of his Caliphs. By these characteristics your Call is given superiority over the other calls; your goal towers above the other goals; and you have gained a (divine) powerful support and grasped a most trustworthy handhold that will never break. By these merits you are following a brilliant light while people are

perplexed and confused so they have missed the right way. ﴾... *And Allah has full power and control over His Affairs...*﴿ (Yusuf: 21)"

(The Sixth Conference)

Thus, the new invitation seeks to place the revival project on the lines of the very first call as a call of renascence, peace, and salvation after the political aggression which was inflicted on the *Ummah*. Despite the difficulty resulting from years of stagnation, the new Call rose to return the*Ummah*to the light of Islam and its great Law, at the hands of men who really want to sustain this Call and work under its standard. They are men who depend only on Allah, seek help only from Him, and whose only objective is that He be pleased with them.

The Civilizational Extension

This characteristic can be presented through the following two articles:

The first article: the inheritors of Islamic civilization

The issue of the *Ummah* today is not an issue of land, because it happened many times that land was lost and then restored. Rather, it is an issue of civilization and existence. Economic, social, or political factors may sometimes dominate events but still the civilizational existence of the *Ummah* is the essence of the struggle. In this regard, Imam al-Banna affirmed the significance of viewing the struggle from its civilizational extension in which the *Ummah* played a significant role for many years as a source of culture and guidance, and presented to mankind the best of human example in justice, equality, freedom, and preservation of human rights; ideologically, politically, socially, and economically. This nation honored scholars and raised them to the rank of the Prophets. It venerated woman and made her the queen of her family. It presented to humanity the highest levels of civil and architectural arts. Imam al-Banna confirmed these facts in more than one place in his tracts. Here are some examples:

We are the inheritors of a glorious, valuable civilization

"We are a great nation which has the most ancient and best indications and aspects of glory and honor. We have inherited Islam, the religion of monotheism and its instructions have been deeply inculcated in our hearts and feelings... Islam, with its creed, system, language, and civilization, represents a glorious, valuable inheritance for us... There is nothing to which our feelings can ever respond more deeply than Islam and everything connected to it. All this is true, but the Western civilization has violently and strongly invaded us with knowledge, money, politics, luxury, means of amusement, and aspects of worldly ease and seductive pleasures that we have never known before."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

We are the owners of a civilization of good manners and a culture of mercy and justice

"... with these three feelings: believing in the greatness of the Mission, feeling proud of espousing it, and hoping that Allah will support it, Prophet Muhammad, the first sponsor (pbuh) revived it (the Mission) in the hearts of his believing Companions, according to Allah's will. He defined for them their aims in life, so they started working bearing the Mission in their hearts or in their *mushafs*;[1] it was reflected on their morals and actions; and they trusted in Allah's help and victory. As a result, they controlled the earth and

1. A *mushaf* is a book containing the Arabic text of the Qur'an. (Translator)

introduced to the world a civilization of good manners and a culture of mercy and justice. They changed the disadvantages of spiritless materialism into the advantages of eternal sublimity. And, Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

The second article: the civilizational reviving

Imam al-Banna stressed on the fact that Muslims are the source of civilizations and that the East is the place of the descent of Heavenly Messages. He said,

We are a source of light for civilization and culture

"The East, which was labeled as the war-monger, has been a source of light for civilization and culture, and the domain of Prophetic revelations. All this exceeds anything the West has ever been able to offer. Only he who is overcome with pride and ignorance will question this. Such false portrayal stems from the self-deceptions of arrogant and disorientated men. It is evident that such thoughts and ideas cannot be based on the principles of (true) civilization. As long as such minds exist amongst us, which bear such feelings about their brethren, there can be no safety, peace or tranquillity. The dawn of peace and security will appear once again when the people raise the standard of brotherhood, which will cover them in its shade and tranquillity. This will not be possible, until people make Islam their guide, as it is said in the book of Allah: ﴿*O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know*

one another. Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqwa [i.e. one of the Muttaqun (pious)].﴾ (Al-Hujurat: 13) And the Prophet (pbuh) clearly stated, '*He who invites towards partisanship, is not from amongst us and he who dies for partisanship, is not from us (either).*' (Narrated by Ahmad on the authority of Jubayr ibn Mut`im)'."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Reviving Islamic civilization is a duty and a necessity

"Circumstances have led us to be raised among this generation where nations struggle violently against one another for survival and where victory always goes to the stronger. Circumstances have also led us to face the bitter results of the deficiencies that we have inherited from the past, to provide the remedy for them, to rescue ourselves and our children, to restore our glory, and to revive our civilization and the instructions of our religion."

(Are We Practical People?)

The civilizational pendulum will never stop moving

"The leadership of the world was at one time entirely in the hands of the East, then it fell to the West after the rise of the Greeks and Romans. After that, the Prophetic eras of Musa, `Isa, and Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all) brought it back to the East for a second time, but then the East fell into its long sleep, and the West enjoyed a new rebirth. It was Allah's norm which does not fail to manifest itself and the West inherited the leadership of the world. But lo and behold! It was tyrannical and unjust,

insolent, misguided, and was stumbling on blindly. All it requires is a strong "Eastern" power to exert itself under the shadow of Allah's banner, with the standard of the Qur'an fluttering at its head, and backed up by the strong soldiers of unyielding faith; then you will see the world living under the tranquillity of Islam, and on the lips of everyone will be the slogan:

﴿*All the praises and thanks be to Allah, Who has guided us to this, never could we have found guidance, were it not that Allah had guided us!*﴾

(Al-A`raf: 43)

This is not in the least a product of imagination: it is no other than the true verdict of history. And if it is not fulfilled by us:

﴿*... Allah will bring a people whom He will love and they will love Him; humble towards the believers, stern towards the disbelievers, fighting in the Way of Allah, and never afraid of the blame of the blamers. That is the Grace of Allah which He bestows on whom He wills...*﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 54)

Yet, we are keen on being from among those who have this merit and this honor: ﴿*And your Lord creates whatsoever He wills and chooses...*﴾ (Al-Qasas: 68)"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

In this way, let us do our best to revive the Islamic civilization and maintain its advancement, depending on our

constitution, the Qur'an, the guideline of our work, the *Sunnah*, and the correct application represented by the righteous predecessors.

Chapter Two
The Reference of the Revival Project

- The Dogmatic Method
- The Method of Principles
- The *Fiqhi* Method
- The General Method

Islam is the religion that has always included many groups of people. These different groups agreed on some points and disagreed on others; they sometimes succeeded to reach the correct position concerning some question and sometimes failed to do so. In all events, they have always been under the shade of Islam. Despite this, the issues of difference caused ideological diseases and wrong conceptions that violated harmony and unanimity between the sects of the *Ummah*. They weakened the possibility of a civilizational takeoff and revival that would lift the*Ummah*out of this prolonged lapse. Imam al-Banna could not stand silent in front of this complicated problem, so he introduced an inclusive project to Al-Azhar concerning the most important religious matters that had not yet been settled between the Muslim sects. In this way, Al-Banna tried to establish a suitable background with which the Islamic revival project could start off towards a prosperous future.

The reference and the criterion

Here we present a postulate which is not taken as seriously as it deserves regarding the basic reference of the revival project. Imam al-Banna stated that this reference should not be a matter of difference, as it is undoubtedly Islam and its eternal Book. Thus, the reference should have been specified in this way, for it is the source on which relies the deduction of rulings, opinions, attitudes, and principles. This is apt to secure a common background and a framework of cooperation that is based on Islam. Imam al-Banna confirmed that the Qur'an is the criterion that we must refer to:

> "I wish to define the criterion we are using to measure this clarity, so that any reader who wishes to benefit from it will

not find it impossible to understand. I think that the entire Islamic*Ummah*will agree with me, that this criterion is the Book of Allah; from whose streams we refresh ourselves, from whose oceans we draw our sustenance, and to whose wisdom we return."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Giving more details about the understanding of the reference and criterion of the Call, Imam al-Banna specified the "principles of understanding".

Principles of understanding

Through what he called "the twenty principles," Imam al-Banna called for a general covenant whose base is these twenty principles, which clearly draw the background needed for the Islamic starting point towards the revival.

In his book *Nazarat fil-Qur'an al-Karim* (Reflection on the Ever-honorable Qur'an) where these twenty principles appeared for the first time, Imam al-Banna said,

"I spent much time thinking about the difference that may be called a scientific difference between Muslim organizations first in Egypt and secondly in countries throughout the Muslim world. I also spent much time seeking a way with which I could gather the Muslims' hearts around a supreme aim that would unify their souls and stimulate their activity, and that would be a foundation of the prospective revival...

I wanted to display these principles - which are, Allah willing, in compliance with the truth - before Muslim thinkers, aiming that they would draw near the different

> viewpoints. I hope that they would contemplate them deeply, and if they would find them suitable to gather the Muslims' viewpoints together, we might take them as a basis..."

The twenty principles are introduced in an explicit, specific, and logical form. They actually contribute to setting a base for cooperation between all Muslims for the sake of the proposed revival. Imam al-Banna said about them,

1. They draw near those who are far from one another.
2. They are in conformity with the truth, according to the measures of knowledge.

Furthermore, Imam al-Banna asked scholars to meditate on these principles that should be a constitution of cultural unity among Muslims. He also enjoined on his adherents that the first pillar of their pledge with him, is to understand these matters very well and invite the *Ummah* to adopt them.

In order to make dealing with the twenty principles easier, we will introduce them in groups as follows:

1. The dogmatic method (principles pertaining to understanding the creed)
2. The method of principles (principles pertaining to understanding the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence)
3. The *fiqhi* method (principles pertaining to understanding Islamic Jurisprudence)
4. The general method (general principles)

The Dogmatic Method

(Principles Pertaining to Understanding the Creed)

1. The principle regarding the comprehensiveness of Islam

"Islam is a comprehensive system which deals with all spheres of life. It is a country and homeland or a government and a nation. It is conduct and power or mercy and justice. It is a culture and a law or knowledge and jurisprudence. It is material and wealth or gain and prosperity. It is jihad and a call or army and a cause. And finally, it is true belief and correct worship."

(The Teachings, the first principle)

2. The principle regarding understanding the Qur'anic verses speaking about Allah's Attributes

"Recognizing Allah's existence (Exalted be He), believing in His Oneness, and glorifying Him are the most sublime beliefs of Islam. We believe in the Qur'anic verses and authentic *hadith*s of the Prophet (pbuh) which describe the exalted attributes of Allah and glorify His name. We also believe in the Qur'anic verses which are not entirely clear (*mutashabihat*), which serve this same purpose, without rejecting any part of them or attempting to interpret them on

our own. We stand aloof from the differences which exist among the scholars concerning these verses; it is enough for us to adopt the attitude of the Prophet (pbuh) and his companions: ﴿... *And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: 'We believe in it; the whole of it (clear and unclear Verses) are from our Lord'...* ﴾ (Al-`Imran: 7)"

(The Teachings, the tenth principle)

3. The principle regarding forbidding to accuse Muslims of disbelief

"Never label as an unbeliever (*kafir*) any Muslim who has confessed the two declarations (*shahadatan*) of belief[1], acts accordingly and performs the obligatory (*fard*) duties of Islam unless he clearly professes the word of unbelief, refuses to acknowledge a fundamental principle of Islam, denies the purity of the Qur'an, or commits an evident act of unbelief."

(The Teachings, the twentieth principle)

4. The principle regarding *tawassul*[2] and invocation

"Supplication to Allah via an intermediary is a minor difference of opinion - more to do with the method of performing supplication rather than a question of belief (*`aqidah*)."

(The Teachings, the fifteenth principle)

1. The *shahadatan* are to say (what means), "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah". (Translator)
2. *Tawassul* is invoking Allah through an intermediary, such as a Prophet, a pious person, and the like. (Translator)

5. The principle regarding ill thinking and claiming that one knows the unseen

"Talismans, incantations, placing of shells around the neck, fortune telling whether by drawing lines on sand or astrology, sorcery, and claiming to have knowledge of the unseen and similar practices, are all evils that must be fought, except what is mentioned in the Qur'an or transmitted to us as an authentic narration of the Prophet (pbuh)."

(The Teachings, the fourth principle)

6. The principle regarding *bid`ah* that has no origin

"Every innovation (*bid`ah*) introduced by the people into the religion of Allah on the grounds of their whims and without authentic foundation, whether by adding to the principles of Islam or taking away from them, is a serious deviation which must be fought and abolished by the best means as long as it does not lead to a greater evil."

(The Teachings, the eleventh principle)

7. The principle regarding *bid`ahs* pertaining to graves and the dead

"Visiting grave sites and tombs is an authentic *sunnah* if done in the manner prescribed by the Prophet (pbuh). But seeking the help of the dead, whomever they may be, appealing to them, asking them to fulfil certain requests, vowing to them. and swearing with their names instead of the name of Allah, building high tombs, covering them with

curtains, illuminating them, and everything of the same nature, are evil innovations and major sins that must be fought. We do not need to interpret such actions offering excuses for them."

(The Teachings, the fourteenth principle)

8. The principle regarding love, honor, and prestige towards those who are close to Allah

"Love of pious people, respecting them, and honoring their righteous achievements brings one closer to Allah (Exalted be He). These (the ones who are close to Allah) have been mentioned by Allah in the Qur'anic verse: ﴿*Those who believed (in the Oneness of Allah - Islamic Monotheism), and used to fear Allah much*﴾ (Yunus: 63). Honor and prestige are due to them with the conditions prescribed by Islamic Law, but we must firmly believe that they (may Allah be pleased with them) had no power over their own fates and, thereby, cannot avail or harm anyone after their death."

(The Teachings, the thirteenth principle)

The Method of Principles

(Principles Pertaining to Understanding the Principles of *Fiqh*)

There are some problems that the *Ummah* faces when dealing with the principles of *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence). These problems should be considered. There are also some regulations that, when neglected, stifle the process of revival. These regulations should be identified.

The science of *Usul al-Fiqh* (Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence) is concerned with the method of reaching *shar`i* rulings. The principles of this science are defined as a collection of rules and researches with which jurists can deduce practical *shar`i* rulings, i.e. fiqhi rulings. Scholars divided the sources of these principles into:

1. Adopted principles(1), and these include the Qur'an, the *Sunnah*, consensus of opinions (*ijma`*), and analogical deduction (*qiyas*).
2. Principles or proofs about which scholars have differed, and these are the sayings of the Companions, laws of the preceding nations, the actions of the people of Madinah, customs (*`urf*), presumption of continuity (*istishab*), application of discretion in a legal decision (*istihsan*), etc.

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1. Adopted here means that they are adopted by the *Shari`ah*. (Translator)

3. Non-adopted principles, and these include the principles that Sufis added like divine manifestation, visions, inspiration, and conceptions.

9. The principle regarding reference

"The glorious Qur'an and the purified Sunnah of the Prophet (pbuh) are the reference points for every Muslim to get acquainted with the rules of Islam. The Qur'an can be understood by applying the rules of the Arabic language without constraint or controversy, and the *Sunnah* can be acquired by reference to trustworthy transmitters of *Hadith*."

(The Teachings, the second principle)

10. The principle regarding non-infallibility of people's sayings

"Everyone's opinion, except that of the infallible Prophet (pbuh) is liable to changes and modifications. We accept all that has reached us of the opinions and rulings of the pious predecessors (*Salaf*) as long as they are in agreement with the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. If this is not the case, the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger are more deserving of our adherence. However, we do not scorn or attack those individuals who differed, since we do not know what their intentions were nor the circumstances that necessitated their decision."

(The Teachings, the sixth principle)

11. The principle regarding the non-adopted proofs of rulings

"True belief, proper worship, and *jihad* in the way of Allah have light and warmth. Allah casts them in the hearts of whomever He chooses from among His servants. Though they may be blessed, visions, notions, inspirations, and dreams are not authentic references for Islamic Law, and therefore should not be given any consideration except when they do not conflict with the authentic references and established principles of Islam."

(The Teachings, the third principle)

12. The principle regarding personal reasoning and imitation

"Any Muslim who has not reached the level to understand the different branches of Islamic jurisprudence may follow one of the four great Imams of this religion. And if so, he should try his best to grasp the evidence put forward while being open to the opinions (supported with evidence) of trustworthy people. This will provide him with enough knowledge to find the Islamic solutions to the contemporary problems of his society. Besides, if this man is from the people of knowledge, let him exert himself to acquire such a level of understanding."

(The Teachings, the seventh principle)

The *Fiqhi* Method

(Principles Pertaining to Understanding *Fiqh*)

The extent to which we understand Islam is one of the most important factors that affect our movement towards the revival. Imam al-Banna discussed the most significant matters that we must follow in *Fiqh* so that it may become a source of mercy and common consent instead of difference and disagreement. *Fiqh* is a science that deals with *shar`i* rulings. It is known that there are two *fiqhi* schools that appeared after the accident of performance of prayer in Banu Qurayzah. These two schools are the school of text, which deals with the content of the text, and the school of objectives, which is concerned with the reason why this text was mentioned.

13. The principle regarding precedence between actions

> "Belief (*`aqidah*) is the basis of action. The deeds done by the heart are more significant than those done by the organs. However, the Muslim is requested to attain improvement in both spheres, even though the degree of request is not the same."

(The Teachings, the seventeenth principle)

14. The principle regarding following the opinion of an Imam

"The opinion of the Imam or his deputy is acceptable in matters having no text as proof, matters having variety of ruling, and matters pertaining to unrestricted interest, provided that his opinion does not conflict with any established principle of Islam. It may change in light of circumstances, customs, and convention. Rituals of worship are originally confined to mere worship with no consideration for meaning, while customary affairs are originally confined to hidden meanings, wisdom, and objectives."

(The Teachings, the fifth principle)

15. The principle regarding forbidding to cause division within the ranks of the Muslims

"In subsidiary matters of Islamic Jurisprudence, differences should not cause division, contention, or hatred within the ranks of the Muslims. To every seeker of knowledge is a reward. In cases of disagreement, however, there is no harm in objective scientific investigation in an atmosphere of love for the sake of Allah and cooperation with the aim of realizing the truth, as long as this does not lead to fanaticism, obstinacy, or controversy."

(The Teachings, the eighth principle)

16. The principle regarding forbidding to waste time and effort in trivial matters that will not lead to action

"Wasting time and effort in investigating trivial matters that will not lead to action is forbidden in Islam. This category

includes debating minute aspects of rulings in cases which have never occurred, investigating the meaning of the Qur'anic verses which are still beyond the scope of human knowledge, and differentiating between the Companions of the Prophet, or investigating the instances of disagreement that took place among them. Every Companion (may Allah be pleased with them all) has the honor and distinction of being a Companion of the Messenger of Allah (pbuh), and to each is the recompense of his motives. Besides, authenticating reports about them always secures a way out of controversy."

(The Teachings, the ninth principle)

17. The principle regarding *bid`ahs* that have no origin in the religion

"There is a difference of opinion regarding innovations which do not contradict established Islamic principles (such as praising Imams and religious figures with pronouncements of their credibility) and binding people to acts of worship left open to one's choice. We adopt what can be confirmed by sound evidence."

(The Teachings, the twelfth principle)

The General Method

(General Principles)

There are a number of principles that can be included in any of the pervious methods, particularly the method of deriving principles, but they seem to have something common between all the methods. That is why we regard them as general matters. They are:

18. The principle regarding avoiding incorrect practices and deceiving terminology

"Incorrect practices which are common amongst people (known as *`urf*) are not to change the reality of *shar`i* terms. Rather we must define the intended meaning. We must also be on the guard for deceptive words relating to worldly and religious matters. What is worth considering here is not names but what these names stand for."

(The Teachings, the sixteenth principle)

19. The principle regarding the relation between *shar`i* contemplation and contemplation of the mind

"Both *shar`i* contemplation and contemplation of the mind may deal with what is attached to the circle of the other.

But, they never differ as regards definite matters: no sound scientific fact will conflict with an established *shar`i* one and the speculative matters of any of them should be interpreted to be in conformity with the definite one. If however the two are speculative, it is recommended to follow the *shar`i* contemplation until contemplation of the mind is established or otherwise."

(The Teachings, the nineteenth principle)

20. The principle regarding contemplation of the mind

"Islam liberates the mind, urges contemplation of the universe, honors science and scientists, and welcomes all that is good and beneficial to mankind. And, 'Wisdom is the missing goal of the believer, so wherever he finds it, he is becomes the most worthy of it'. "

(The Teachings, the eighteenth principle)

Besides, there are some important explanations of the latter principle but they are involved in other tracts of Imam al-Banna. It is preferable that these explanations be introduced here because this will, Allah willing, increase the prospective benefit. They are:

The mind is the criterion of legal responsibility

"The basis of Islamic belief, as is the case with the rules of *Shari`ah*, is the Book of Allah, the Almighty, and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet (pbuh).

However, you should know that all those beliefs are supported by sound reasoning and can be proved by correct

thinking and this is why Allah, the Almighty, honored the mind by addressing it directly and made sanity a precondition for legal responsibility (taklif), and called upon the mind to think and contemplate. He called on adversaries to provide evidence, even in matters that are obviously false. The reason for that is to show the importance of evidence and to demonstrate the value of argument... Thus, you can see that Islam does not restrict ideas or imprison the mind, but rather guides it to work within its proper limits. It (Islam) informs human beings of how little they know and calls on them to increase their knowledge."

(The Creeds)

Types of thinking as regards searching for knowledge

Islamic ideology has put an end to argumentation that pertains to knowledge concerning the sources of knowledge, its origin, the relation between knowledge and the mind, and the relation between science and the unseen. Islamic ideology has particularized a distinguished and well-organized frame of knowledge. This frame has ended the mental vacillation that man suffers from and has specified for him the methodology of sound reasoning. In this regard Imam al-Banna said,

"Ever since man made his appearance on the earth, human intellect has continuously deteriorated. Similarly, it had given in to suspicion; this was until Allah guided it, between three stages (of the development of the mind).

The first stage was when superstition predominated and human wisdom bowed before the unknown, the unseen, and mystical forces. The second stage was that of stagnation and materialism and a denial of the unknown and the unseen. The third stage was when the believing (in the unseen) mind and the scientific mind were connected.

Both types of thinking[1] are obviously wrong and extreme, and are the result of man being unaware of his surroundings. Islam came and made an accurate analysis of this problem. Accordingly, it acknowledges the spiritual world and describes the unknown and unseen world in such a way, that it attracts the intellect, and does not clash with the inborn faculty of the mind. However, it also recognizes the material world and all that lies in it for the good of man, if he lives as he ought to live, benefits from it, and remains within the bounds of that which is good. It invites man to ponder over the kingship of the heavens and the earth and regards this as the closest way to know Allah, the Most High."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

When the Muslim Brother understands his religion through these principles, he will have perceived the meaning of his motto: "Allah is our goal, the Qur'an is our constitution, and the Prophet is our example".

In conclusion, we may quote the following words of Imam al-Banna with which he addressed his adherents and confirmed the merit of understanding Islam properly:

1. Which are portrayed by the first two stages mentioned above. (Translator)

"Remember well, Brothers, that Allah has granted you a pure, comprehensive, and sufficient understanding of Islam. This understanding is apt to keep up with different times, to provide the needs of nations, and to bring about happiness for people, away from inactivity, profligacy, and philosophical complexities, and with neither extravagance nor negligence. It is derived from the Book of Allah, the *Sunnah* of His Messenger, and the biographies of the righteous predecessors. This derivation depends on justice and logic, is perceived by sincere hearts and recognized by accurate minds. You have become aquatinted with it in accordance with its nature: a creed and a worship, a country and a homeland, a government and a nation, a mushaf and a sword, and responsible role enjoined by Allah on all Muslims throughout the world. ﴿*Thus We have made you a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind and the Messenger (Muhammad) be a witness over you...*﴾ (Al-Baqarah: 143)"

(The Sixth Conference)

Chapter Three
The Goal of the Call

- The Major Goal of the Call
- The Message of the Call
- The Objectives of the Call

The Major Goal of the Call

The main reason that man has been created for is to serve and worship Allah, Glorified and Exalted be He; He said,

﴾*And I (Allah) created not the jinns and humans except they should worship Me (Alone).*﴿

(Adh-Dhariyat: 56)

Imam al-Banna said concerning this point, that the Qur'an has defined the goal of life and the purpose of man's existence, and has demonstrated the consequence of people whose main concern in this life is:

1. Eating and enjoyment:

﴾*... while those who disbelieve enjoy themselves and eat as cattle eat, and the Fire will be their abode.*﴿

(Muhammad: 12)

2. Luxury and temporary possessions:

﴾*Beautified for men is the love of things they covet; women, children, much of gold and silver (wealth), branded beautiful horses, cattle and well-tilled land. This is the pleasure of the present world's life; but Allah has the excellent return with Him.*﴿

(Al `Imran: 14)

3. Fueling civil strife and causing evil and corruption to flourish:

﴿And of mankind there is he whose speech may please you (O Muhammad), in this worldly life, and he calls Allah to witness as to that which is in his heart, yet he is the most quarrelsome of the opponents. And when he turns away (from you "O Muhammad"), his effort in the land is to make mischief therein and to destroy the crops and the cattle, and Allah likes not mischief.﴾

(Al-Baqarah: 204-205)

These are some of the things that men inspire in this life, from which Allah has kept the believers clean and innocent: instead He has entrusted them with much more elevated concerns! He has placed upon their shoulders the highest of duties which is the guidance of humanity to the truth, leading mankind to good, and the illumination of the entire world with the light of Islam. Allah the Almighty says,

﴿O you who believe! Bow down, and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord and do good that you may be successful. And strive hard in Allah's Cause as you ought to strive. He has chosen you (to convey His Message of Islamic Monotheism), and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship, it is the religion of your father Ibrahim (Abraham) (Islamic Monotheism). It is He (Allah) Who has named you Muslims both before and in this (the Qur'an), that the Messenger (Muhammad) may be a witness over you and you be witnesses over mankind! So perform As Salah (Prayer), give Zakah and hold fast to Allah [i.e. have confidence in Allah, and depend upon Him in all your affairs] He is your Mawla (Patron, Lord, etc.), what an Excellent Mawla and what an Excellent Helper!﴾

(Al-Hajj: 77-78)

Then Imam al-Banna said,

"Had the Muslims understood the Book of their Lord in this fashion, their souls would have been uplifted and their spirits elevated, and they would have freed themselves from the enslavement of materialism and the pleasures of lust and desires, lifted themselves above trivialities and debased objectives, and turned their faces towards Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth, as pure believers exalting the word of Allah and striving in His path. Are they spreading His Word and defending His Sacred Law or are they prisoners of their cravings and slaves of their greed, whose sole interest is tender meat, a fast car, a handsome suit, a comfortable nap, a fair wife, a false front, and an empty title?

How truthful are the words of the Prophet of Allah (pbuh):

'Wretched is the slave of dinars, wretched is the slave of the dirhams, wretched is the slave of velvet'."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Therefore, the major goal of our Call, which is also the principal goal of our revival project, is to worship Allah, Glory be to Him, by guiding people to the truth and goodness and enlightening the whole world with the light of Islam.

The Message of the Call

By message, we mean the document that expresses the future view of some organization and the nature of the task that this organization shoulders, to achieve this view through principal fields or plans of action in certain geographical areas, within a certain period of time, and in a specified direction. This message expresses the major goal and principal objectives of the Organization. The task or message of our Call can be summarized in the following objectives, as viewed by Imam al-Banna:

1. Reconstructing the *Ummah* after liberating it from its political bonds.
2. Standing in the face of materialistic modernism.
3. Establishing a comprehensive Islamic order.
4. Mastering the world and guiding humanity.

Some details can be presented about each one of these objectives through Imam al-Banna's words, as follows:

1. Reconstructing the *Ummah* after liberating it from its political bonds

Imam al-Banna said concerning this,

> "Our task consists of two conditions. The first is to liberate the *Ummah* from its political bonds so that it may obtain its

freedom. The second is its reconstruction, so that it may follow its own path among other nations and compete with them acquiring social perfection."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

2. Standing in the face of materialistic modernism

Imam al-Banna specified this objective saying,

"Our mission in general is to stand in the face of this overwhelming wave of materialistic modernism and the civilization of pleasure and lusts which has drawn the Muslim nations away from the leadership of the Prophet (pbuh) and guidance of the Qur'an..."

(Under the Standard of the Qur'an)

3. Establishing a comprehensive Islamic order

Imam al-Banna detailed this objective saying,

"As for our mission in detail, it is to establish an interior system of government, a system of international relations, a practical system of jurisdiction, an economic system, a system of culture and education, a system of families and homes, and a system of personal conduct of individuals..."

(Under the Standard of the Qur'an)

4. Mastering the world and guiding humanity

Imam al-Banna explained how Islam is the source of the message of the Call, saying,

"It is precisely this message which the Muslim Brotherhood wish to advocate, so that the Muslim *Ummah* may

understand it as it ought to be understood, and they are thus procured to salvage mankind with full determination and energy. They have not fabricated it, nor have they invented it of their own accord. It is no more than the message which is apparent in every verse of the Ever-Honorable Qur'an. It is a message which emerges with clarity and precision in every *hadith* of the Prophet (pbuh) and is manifest in every deed of the first Muslims, who are the best examples for the proper understanding of Islam and its revival. If Muslims accept this message, it will be the proof of their faith and of the genuineness of their Islam. But if they find anything objectionable or faulty in it, the Book of Allah stands between us and them as a just authority and the final arbitrator, demonstrating whether the truth lies with us or against us: ﴾... *Our Lord! Judge between us and our people in truth, for You are the Best of those who give judgment.*﴿ (Al-A`raf: 89)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

The Objectives of the Call

Throughout his tracts Imam al-Banna spoke about these objectives under various titles like "Our goal," "What do we want?" and "Our objectives". In the following pages we will introduce the objectives of our Call as represented by Imam al-Banna.

In order to understand the objectives of the Call as outlined by Imam al-Banna, first we need to understand the duty of the Muslim according to Al-Banna's view. He said,

"The duty of the true Muslim has been specified by Allah the Most High in His Book... It is stated in the following words of Allah:

﴿*O you who believe! Bow down, and prostrate yourselves, and worship your Lord and do good that you may be successful. And strive hard in Allah's Cause as you ought to strive. He has chosen you, and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship, it is the religion of your father Ibrahim (Abraham) (Islamic Monotheism). It is He (Allah) Who has named you Muslims both before and in this (the Qur'an), that the Messenger (Muhammad) may be a witness over you and you be witnesses over mankind! So perform As Salah (Prayer), give Zakah and hold fast to Allah. He is your Mawla (Patron, Lord, etc.), what an Excellent Mawla and what an Excellent Helper!*﴾

(Al-Hajj: 77-78)

These words are clear-cut, without any ambiguity or mystery...

1. Allah commands Muslims... to perform prayer which is the essence of worship, the pillar of Islam... and to worship Allah not associating anything with Him, and to do as much good as they can... This is the individual duty of every Muslim...

2. Allah then commanded them to strive to their utmost for His sake, by spreading this Message and making it universal amongst all mankind with argument and proof."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

After that, Imam al-Banna itemized the duty of the Muslim by saying,

"O Muslims, your duty in this life is to worship your Lord and strive in His cause in order to establish His religion and Law on the earth..."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

According to this, the Muslim's duty consists of two roles:

1. worshiping Allah and doing good,
2. and striving to establish Allah's Law.

Before summing up the subject in a diagram, it may be beneficial to read Imam al-Banna's classification of the objectives of the Call, as he mentioned in *The Sixth Conference*. He divided them into two goals: one near and the other far. In *The Sixth Conference* we read,

"Al-Ikhwan are seeking to reach two goals: a near goal whose objective appears from the first day for the

individual as a member in the Organization, or when the public reap the fruit of the Organization's activity; and a far goal which requires watching for opportunities, waiting for the suitable time, good preparation, and early formation."

(The Sixth Conference)

1. The near goal: contribution to public interests and social service

"The first goal aims to contribute to all forms of public interest, and social service whenever possible. When someone joins Al-Ikhwan, he is asked:

a. to purify himself, correct his conduct, prepare himself spiritually, intellectually, and physically for the expected prolonged *jihad*,

b. and to spread this spirit among his own family, friends, and environment. This is because a man cannot be a true Muslim unless he himself applies the rules and morals of Islam, and considers the limits of enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong as defined by Allah the Almighty through His Prophet (pbuh). Allah the Almighty says,

﴿*And by Nafs (Adam or a person or a soul, etc.), and Him Who perfected him in proportion; then He showed him what is wrong for him and what is right for him; indeed he succeeds who purifies his ownself. And indeed he fails who corrupts his ownself.*﴾

(Ash-Shams: 7-10)

However, is this all that the Muslim Brotherhood want and prepare themselves for? No, Brothers! This does not

represent all our aims; it is only one means through which we seek to obtain the Pleasure of Allah, by spending time showing obedience to Him until the suitable hour for work comes, then we will move towards the prospective comprehensive reform."

(The Sixth Conference)

2. The far goal: comprehensive reform and changing the present conditions

"The principal goal of the Muslim Brothers and their most supreme objective is a comprehensive reform, which they are seeking and preparing themselves for. All the powers of the *Ummah* should cooperate to achieve such a reform, so that the present unacceptable positions may be replaced with acceptable ones. The Muslim Brothers are working so that the (ruling) system can be supported by rulers (not otherwise); the state of Islam can revive; Islamic rulings can be executed; and an Islamic government can be established which will be supported by a Muslim nation whose life is regulated by Islamic *Shari`ah* that Allah prescribed for His Prophet (pbuh) in His Book: ﴿*Then We have put you (O Muhammad) on a plain way of (Our) commandment. So follow it, and follow not the desires of those who know not.*﴾ (Al-Jathiyah: 18)"

(The Sixth Conference)

After displaying the near goal and its aspects in the practical field, and explaining the far goal which represents the origin for which this revival movement has been established, Imam

al-Banna outlined the program of the Muslim Brotherhood and the line of work for which the *Ummah* should be prepared. Let us contemplate his words in the tract *To Youths*:

> "The program of the Muslim Brotherhood is so clear and its stages are well-defined, since we are completely aware of our aims as well as of the means required for achieving them. We want a (truly) Muslim man, then a Muslim home, then a Muslim people, and then a Muslim government. After that, we hope that every part of our Islamic homeland will join us. Thereafter Allah's standard will be raised high again in these areas. Along with this, we want to let the whole world know about our Call."

(To Youths)

When he believed that he would be insulated from the Organization, Imam al-Banna wrote the farewell tract *Between Yesterday and Today*, where he clearly put down the principles he thought of as being the most important for the Organization. He said,

> "Always bear in mind that you have two fundamental objectives: freeing the Islamic homeland from all foreign authority... and the establishment of an Islamic state within this homeland... We want to accomplish these two objectives in the Nile Valley and the Arab kingdom, and in every land that adopts the Islamic creed..."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

When reclassifying the words of Imam al-Banna concerning the objectives of the Call and connecting the relevant words scattered throughout the tracts, especially the tract of *The*

Teachings, we deduce that the two goals mentioned above, include both the near goal and the far one. Accordingly, these objectives can be arranged as follows:

The first part of the mission: worshiping Allah and doing good

a. The near goal: it includes:

1. reforming the individual,
2. building the family,
3. guiding society.

The second part of the mission: striving for establishing Allah's Law

b. The far goal: it includes

4. reforming the government,
5. rebuilding the Islamic Caliphate,
6. achieving sovereignty,
7. mastering the world.

The ingredients of this drawing of the objectives, according to the thinking of Imam al-Banna, are as follows:

1. The near goal

a. Reforming the individual (preparing men)

Detailing this objective, Imam al-Banna said,

"However, the striving nations which are facing a new revival and a serious transition, which want to build their

future life on a well-established foundation that will secure prosperity and tranquillity for the rising generations, and which seek to restore a ravished right and usurped glory, these nations need a construction other than these constructions. They badly need to construct their souls (on piety and righteousness), establish good manners, and raise their men on the basis of true manliness, so that they can be steadfast before the obstacles and hindrances which they will face.

Man is the secret of the vitality and revival of nations. The history of all nations is in fact the history of their men who enjoyed genius and strong will. That is why the strength or weakness of a nation is measured by its production of men who have the requirements of true manliness. I believe - and history testifies to my belief - that one man who enjoys true manliness can construct a whole nation, but he can also destroy it if this characteristic is directed towards destruction and not towards construction."

(Are We Practical People?)

Specifying the requirements of the truthful Brother, Imam al-Banna wrote,

"... and reforming the self; a Muslim should strive to attain a strong body, good character, cultured thought, correct belief, and true worship. He should be able to earn his own living, and control his inner instincts. He should be careful about his time, organized in his affairs, and willing to offer help and service to others. These comprise the duties of every Muslim as an individual."

(The Teachings)

b. Building the family

Then Imam al-Banna moved on to the establishment of the Muslim family, saying,

> "... and establishing an Islamic home; such that (the members of) his family respect his ideology and observe the Islamic code in all aspects of home life. He should be wise in selecting his wife and inform her about her rights and duties. He should raise his children, and other household members under his supervision according to the principles of Islam. These are of the duties of every individual Muslim."

(The Teachings)

c. Guiding society

Then, Imam al-Banna outlined the objective at the level of society, saying,

> "... and guiding society by spreading the call of righteousness, fighting atrocities and detestful things, encouraging virtue, enjoining all that is good, helping the people, trying to win the public opinion to the side of Islam, and observing the Islamic principles in all aspects of public life. This is the duty of individual brothers as well as the jama`ah (community) working as a unit."

(The Teachings)

2. The far goal

a. Reforming the government and establishing the state on Islamic bases

Regarding the far goal, Imam al-Banna outlined the objectives of this goal at the level of the country. He stated,

"... and reforming the government so that it may become a truly Islamic government, performing as a servant to the nation (and a devoted citizen) who seeks its interest. By Islamic government I mean a government whose officers are Muslims who perform the obligatory duties of Islam, who do not make their disobedience public, and who enforce the rules and teachings of Islam...The Islamic government should realize its responsibilities of love, sympathy, and equity towards the people. It should be economical - not over indulging in public funds. The Islamic government is obliged to maintain peace and order, enforce Islamic Law, spread education, prepare militarily, protect public health and services, develop the resources of the land, guard the public treasury, strengthen the morals of the people, and spread the call of Islam.

If the government performs all these duties, it will be incumbent upon the people to be obedient and loyal to it, and to assist it with their lives and their property. On the other hand, if the government neglects its duties and falls short of its responsibilities, then it will be the duty of the people to first advise and guide, then to dismiss and remove the government, for *'No obedience is due to a creature in disobedience to the Creator'.* "

(The Teachings)

b. Rebuilding the Islamic Caliphate (representing the Muslim *Ummah* in one united entity)

At the level of the *Ummah*, Imam al-Banna stressed on the necessity of the unity of the *Ummah*, by saying,

"... and rebuilding the international prominence of the Muslim *Ummah* by liberating its lands, reviving its glorious past, bringing closer the cultures of its regions, and rallying under one word, until once again the long awaited unity and the lost Khilafah (Islamic Caliphate) is returned, and until we re-master the world by spreading Islam all over it: ﴿... *until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism: i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone [in the whole of the world]...*﴾ (Al-Anfal: 39), ﴿... *but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected even though the Kafirun (disbelievers) hate (it)*﴾ (At-Tawbah: 32)"

(The Teachings)

Imam al-Banna further detailed this pivotal objective saying,

"The Muslim Brothers regard the khilafah (Islamic Caliphate) as the symbol of Islamic unity and a sign of the bond between the various Muslim nations. They believe that it is a religious duty on every Muslim to think about the khilafah and to be concerned about its return. There are many rules of the religion of Allah that are fulfilled by the khalifah (Muslim Caliph). This was why before the burial of the Prophet (pbuh), the honored Companions (may Allah be pleased with them) were so anxious about the matter that they did not consent to the burial of the Messenger until the issue of the khalifah had been determined...

For this reason, Al-Ikhwan have given top priority to the revival of the khilafah. They are conscious that they will

have to make many preparations before the last step for the return of the khilafah is taken."

(The Fifth Conference)

c. Achieving sovereignty

Imam al-Banna confirmed the necessity of freeing the *Ummah* for achieving this objective. He wrote,

"Always bear in mind that you have two fundamental objectives: freeing the Islamic homeland from all foreign authority... and the establishment of an Islamic state within this homeland... We want to accomplish these two objectives in the Nile Valley and the Arab kingdom, and in every land that adopts the Islamic creed..."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

d. Mastering the world

Concerning the propagation of the light of Islam and guiding humanity to good and truth, Imam al-Banna said,

"... and until we re-master the world by spreading Islam all over it: ﴿*... until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism: i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone [in the whole of the world]...*﴾ (Al-Anfal: 39), ﴿*... but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected even though the Kafirun (disbelievers) hate (it).*﴾ (At-Tawbah: 32)"

(The Teachings)

With this specified, clear, and detailed account, Imam al-Banna outlined the objectives of the Call. The Muslim

individual and the Muslim *Ummah* should work hard to fulfil these objectives, with the aim of worshiping Allah, the Almighty and achieving the prospective project of the revival.

Chapter Four

The Elements of the Call

- The Stages of the Call
- The Means of the Call
- The Policies of the Call

The Stages of the Call

The Call was initiated in the form of psychological thoughts or personal efforts made to rescue people. Let us meditate on Imam al-Banna's words in this context:

1. The stage of thoughts

Imam al-Banna said,

> "I carried these thoughts as points requiring personal contemplation and meditation. Sometimes I mentioned them to the people around me. And, if I had an opportunity, these thoughts found an outlet in the form of invitation to individuals, a general address, lecture, or religious discourse. Sometimes I was able to persuade some Muslim scholars, friends of mine, to actively work, to save the people and then to guide them towards the goodness of Islam."

(The Fifth Conference)

2. The stage of gathering people around the idea followed by the stage of regulation

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Then I met many of the leaders of the community and told them that action and struggle were necessary for the revival

of the nation and that the leaders had to address this problem. Sometimes I would be encouraged and other times discouraged by their response. Occasionally, I was met with hesitation. But the will to organize the practical efforts, which I wanted, could not be found anywhere..."

"It was in Isma`iliyyah (an Egyptian governorate), dear brothers, that the first seed of this thinking was sown and came the first organization which we worked under and carried its flag, vowing to spread this thinking by starting its activity and sacrificing our lives for the Cause by the name of "Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun" - the Muslim Brotherhood. This was in the month of Dhul-Qa`dah in 1347 AH"

(The Fifth Conference)

3. Gradual progression ... and stages

Imam al-Banna said,

"Gradual progression, solid development (*tarbiyah*), and a clear method are given great importance within Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun because they believe that it is inevitable that any call passes through some stages... The first stage is that of introduction, in which the Call should be introduced and publicized to the maximum extent; and it should be propagated to each and every class within the general public. Then comes the stage of formation in which the Call should have an organization and structure. Sincere men of sacrifice should be chosen and the best of them should be the soldiers of this Call. The third stage is the stage of implementation. In this stage, principles will be applied to reality, though much hard work is required to fulfil this.

In many cases these stages are being applied side-by-side because they are overlapping and inter-connected. The caller will call; at the same time he will choose some people and train them, and he will simultaneously be busy in some practical efforts."

(The Fifth Conference)

Thus, according to Imam al-Banna, the stages of the Call are successive at the theoretical level, but practically they are equivalent and overlapping. However, he might give a particular stage a certain description according to the development of the work. Still, this description does not negate the existence of the other stages, as it refers to the extent of the particular importance of this stage.

A Summary of Imam al-Banna's conception of the stages of the Call

After the two stages of "thoughts" and "gathering people around the idea," the other stages of the Call can be summarized as follows:

1. the stage of familiarization,
2. the stage of development,
3. the stage of implementation,
4. the stage of the state/states (which has/have a common source and one basis of values),
5. the stage of preparation for rebuilding the Islamic Caliphate,
6. the stage of rebuilding the state entity or the caliphate,
7. and the stage of mastering the world and establishing the ideal.

In his writings, Imam al-Banna explained his conception of every stage and its most important features, as follows:

1. The stage of familiarization

Imam al-Banna said,

> "This (the stage of familiarization) involves spreading the general concepts of Islam amongst the people. In this phase, the call is directed via administrative units and pays attention to social services. Its method is sometimes preaching and teaching, and other times establishing beneficial institutions for the public.
>
> All branches of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization today represent this phase of the Call. Their work is governed by the bylaws of the Organization, and their methods of work are explained in the Brotherhood's publications.
>
> Participation in our activities is open to anyone as long as they promise to adhere to the Organization's principles."

(The Teachings)

According to this, the features of this stage are:

1. the system of administrative societies,
2. working for the public interest,
3. preaching and guiding,
4. establishing beneficial institutions,
5. the generality of the Call,
6. and respecting the principles and contributing to the work by affiliated persons.

2. The stage of development

This is the stage of choosing proponents, preparing members, and unifying the lines. The most distinguishing feature of this stage is the question of selection and consolidation of righteous members.

According to Imam al-Banna's thinking, this step is implemented in three forms:

1. battalions, for consolidating men through acquaintance,
2. ranging, scouting, and sporting teams, for strengthening them physically and making them familiar with obedience, regulation, and virtuous sporting ethics,
3. and lessons, for teaching and invigorating men ideologically through a comprehensive study which covers the most important things that a Muslim Brother needs to know concerning his worldly and religious life.

3. The stage of implementation

Imam al-Banna regarded this stage as the practical step after which the fruit of the Call is to be harvested. He said,

> "The Call in this stage consists of an uncompromising struggle and persistent effort in pursuit of the objective. There will be trials and tribulations which only truthful people can endure."

(The Teachings)

4. The stage of the state/states

Imam al-Banna considered the Islamic State an essential element in the revival project.

Being one of the elements of the project, the state will be discussed in detail in part III of this book. For now, it is significant to highlight the fact that throughout his writings, Imam al-Banna used to pay more attention to the purpose of things than to their names. According to Imam al-Banna, the state is based on a referential frame, which must be Islam. That is why Imam al-Banna stressed that Islamic values should be practically applied, for this secures a well-established groundwork for restoring the Islamic Caliphate.

5. The stage of preparation for rebuilding the Islamic Caliphate (the united entity of the *Ummah*)

Imam al-Banna viewed that the Muslim countries should be unified and their cultures should be brought together, so that the caliphate can be reinstated. He stated,

> "It is essential that there should be a complete economic, social, and cultural co-operation amongst all the Muslim nations and groups. Thereafter political pacts and agreements should be concluded among them and meetings and conferences should be held... Then, the formulation of a League of Muslim Nations would be easy to accomplish. After all this, it would be possible to agree on an "Imam", who would be the main jewel in the crown of Islam, the cementing force for joining the Islamic nations; beloved by the people..."

(The Fifth Conference)

6. The stage of rebuilding the state entity or the caliphate

The caliphate can be returned by achieving the previous stage. In this regard, Imam al-Banna wrote,

> "... and rebuilding the international prominence of the Muslim *Ummah* by liberating its lands, reviving its glorious past, bringing closer the cultures of its regions, and rallying under one word, until once again the long awaited unity and the lost Khilafah (Islamic Caliphate) is returned."

(The Teachings)

7. The stage of mastering the world and establishing the ideal

Imam al-Banna confirmed the establishment of a comprehensive Islamic ideal as the basis of accomplishing a real revival and a frame of propagating truth and good all over the world. He continued,

> "... and until we re-master the world by spreading Islam all over it."

(The Teachings)

These are the seven stages of the Call's line of action, as outlined by Imam al-Banna, with which the project of the revival can be practically fulfilled through the establishment of the "ideal" Islamic State and re-mastering the world, so that good and truth can be spread throughout it.

The Means of the Call

1. The basic means

Imam al-Banna specified the essential means of the Call into three principles: He said,

> "As for the means which I promised you I would discuss, they are three basic principles about which the ideology of the Brotherhood revolves:
>
> 1. the proper program of action,
>
> 2. believing workers,
>
> 3. and a determined, trustworthy leadership."

(Our Call)

He furthermore stated,

> "The means is not force either, for a real call addresses the souls and hearts first of all. It is impossible that a call be established with force, yet the effective, right means resides in the firmness and consolidation of the call. Everyone who is aware of the history of organizations knows this fact. This can be summarized into two matters:
>
> 1. faith which is coupled with action,
>
> 2. and affection and brotherhood."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Additionally, Imam al-Banna summed up the means in another tract saying,

> "Every call has an approach which it must adopt and act accordingly. It remains invariable and unchanging, and is confined to the following three matters:
>
> 1. deep faith,
>
> 2. precise organization,
>
> 3. and uninterrupted work."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

2. The dynamic means

By contemplating Imam al-Banna's words concerning the means of the Call throughout his tracts and by considering the course of history and circumstances which the Movement passed through during his time, and through his religious, social, and political consciousness, we can deduce his conception of the detailed, dynamic means derived from the previously mentioned means. Perhaps the following quotation from the tract of *The Sixth Conference* involves the most specific description of these means:

> "Our general means are specified into certain duties. We will propagate our Call using all available means until public opinion believes in it and thus supports it. After that, we will select good men to be pillars of the idea of reform. Then will come constitutional struggle which will help the Call be heard in official bodies so that they may advocate it and executive power may side with it. On this basis,

Al-Ikhwan candidates will appear at the suitable time to represent the nation in parliamentary institutions. We are sure that Allah will help us to succeed as long as we seek His Face with our endeavor.

﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.*﴾

(Al-Hajj: 40)

We will not use means other than these except under necessity and thereupon we will be honorable and frank; we will declare our attitude clearly. We are ready to bear whatever consequences of our work, and we will not cast the responsibility on the others. We do believe that that which is with Allah is better and will forever remain, that death in the cause of truth is the true essence of eternality, and that there is no (constructive) call without *jihad* and there is no *jihad* without oppression. By then the hour of victory will be very soon and the following statement of Allah, the Manifest Truth, will come true,

﴿... *until, when the Messengers gave up hope and thought that they were denied (by their people), then came to them Our Help, and whomsoever We willed were delivered. And Our Punishment cannot be warded off from the people who are Mujrimun (criminals, disobedients to Allah, sinners, disbelievers, polytheists).*﴾ (Yusuf: 110)"

(The Sixth Conference)

According to this text, the dynamic means of the Call are:

1. calling and clarification,

2. *tarbiyah*[1],

3. constitutional struggle,

4. and *jihad*.

Imam al-Banna examined these means somewhat in detail, as follows.

The first means: calling and clarification (preaching and guiding)

Calling is the principal method that all Prophets and Messengers used, and it is the method that is to be used in *da`wah* until the Day of Judgment. The Qur'an and the *Sunnah* encourage Muslims to make use of this method which is a duty that should be carried out by every Muslim individual. Expressing this method, Imam al-Banna said,

> "The first goal aims to contribute to all forms of public interest, and social service whenever possible... The Organization will teach the uneducated and instruct Muslims about the rulings of their religion, preach and guide, make reconciliation between disputants and give in charity to the needy, and establish useful institutions including schools, institutes, dispensaries, and mosques within its capacity and according to the surrounding circumstances..."

(The Sixth Conference)

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1. According to Al-Ikhwan, *Tarbiyah* is a teaching and educational process where the elder and more experienced people train and raise the younger ones in a right way that achieves their sense of humanity and dignity according to everyone's stages of growth. (Translator)

The elements or ingredients of this method can be outlined in the following steps:

1. contributing to public interests and social service,
2. teaching the uneducated and instructing Muslims about the rulings of their religion,
3. preaching and guiding,
4. making reconciliation between disputants and giving in charity to the needy,
5. establishing useful institutions,
6. establishing public opinion, and correcting Muslims' understanding of their religion,
7. using pamphlets, publications, conferences, and missions for propagating the Call,
8. introducing practical programs which are beneficial to people's life affairs,
9. fighting against ignorance, disease, poverty, and indecency.

The second means: *tarbiyah* (preparation and development)

Imam al-Banna was very interested in this means, as it is the basic factor in the preparation of men. He stated,

> "Therefore, prepare yourself well. Develop yourself correctly and examine yourself minutely. Expose yourself to the hardship of struggle and keep away from pleasure and enjoyments."

(The Fifth Conference)

In order to confirm this meaning, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Al-Ikhwan primarily seek to educate souls, revive spirits, strengthen morals, and develop true manliness in the souls of Muslims. They believe that this is the first foundation on which peoples and nations build their revivals."

(Are We Practical People?)

In many places in his tracts, Imam al-Banna spoke about the means that he used to raise, develop, and mobilize his proponents. For instance, he wrote,

> "As the first step, we placed the Call before the nation, regularly providing lessons, made constant tours, published a good deal of literature, held general and special meetings regularly, produced a newspaper for Al-Ikhwan and took advantage of the weekly "An-Nadhir". In this way we have made well-established steps in this phase and it has become obligatory that we take the second step; the step of choosing, formation, and mobilization. The second step took various forms."

(The Fifth Conference)

According to Imam al-Banna's thinking, the forms of *tarbiyah* can be summarized as follows:

1. Families: (the cradle of fraternal relations)
2. Battalions: (institutes of spiritual education)
3. Tours: (the cradle of social relations)
4. Courses: (centers of habilitation and training)
5. Camps: (institutes of physical education)

6. Conferences: (institutes of ideological and scientific education).

The third means: political activities (the constitutional struggle)

Preparation to rebuild the Islamic State requires political activity which takes on various forms and passes through different roles. Political activity plays a great role in the Call, as it attracts more members to the Organization and contributes to invigorating their capacity, in addition to general social edification, propagation of Islamic consciousness, and confirmation of the comprehensiveness of Islam. Any means can be utilized as long as it is legal and does not contradict any source of the *Shari`ah*. Imam al-Banna said in this connection,

"Our general means are specified in certain duties:

1. We will propagate our Call using all available means until public opinion believes in it and thus supports it.

2. After that we will select good men to be pillars of the idea of reform.

3. Then will come constitutional struggle which will help the Call be heard in official bodies so that they may advocate it and executive power may side with it.

4. On this basis, Al-Ikhwan candidates will appear at the suitable time to represent the nation in parliamentary institutions. We are sure that Allah will help us to succeed as long as we seek His Face with our endeavor. ﴾... *Verily,*

Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty. ﴿ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(The Sixth Conference)

The fourth means: *jihad* (the continuous obligation)

Jihad, in all its degrees is an essential means of the general means of the Call. (For details about the degrees of *jihad*, refer to the tract *Are We Practical People*? under the title "*Jihad* is our dignity".) Speaking about this point, Imam al-Banna said,

> "By *jihad* I mean that divinely ordained obligation which Muslims are to carry out until the Day of Judgment and which is reflected in the Prophetic saying that reads, *'Whoever dies without striving (in the way of Allah), or intending to do so, dies in a state of pre-Islamic ignorance'.*
>
> The weakest degree of *jihad* is the heart's abhorrence of evil, and its highest degree is fighting in Allah's cause, and between these two degrees are numerous forms of *jihad*, including struggling with the tongue, pen, or hand, and speaking a word of truth to a tyrannical ruler.
>
> No call to the truth survives without diligent *jihad*. The more sublime and comprehensive the call is, the greater are the difficulties in its way, the higher is the price required for adhering to it, and the more generous is the reward given to its upholders. ﴾*And strive hard in Allah's Cause as you ought to strive...*﴿ *(Al-Hajj: 78)* Thus, you understand the meaning of your motto, "*jihad* is our means"."

(The Teachings)

In fact, Imam al-Banna highlighted the nature of *jihad*, the circumstances of preparation, and the rules and conditions of using power. In making this, he would state the principle, referring to the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and then he would set regulations for acting upon it, as follows.

a. Islam and the principle of preparation

Allah, the Almighty states,

> ﴿*And make ready against them all you can of power, including steeds of war (tanks, planes, missiles, artillery, etc.) to threaten the enemy of Allah and your enemy...*﴾
>
> (Al-Anfal: 60)

And the Prophet (pbuh) declared,

> *"A strong believer is better than a weak believer."*

b. When should one be considered prepared?

Imam al-Banna warned against using power before the conditions required for this are established. He wrote,

> "The most basic power is that of faith and belief. Then comes the power of unity. Thereafter, follows physical strength. An organization cannot be called powerful unless it has all of these. If it uses physical force while it is disunited, organizationally disjointed, weak in faith, and feeble in belief, then it will surely meet disaster and will disappear."
>
> (The Fifth Conference)

c. Rules and conditions

Imam al-Banna referred to the conditions required for using power, saying,

"Al-Ikhwan consider the consequences of each matter as deeply as that particular issue requires. They are cautious and exhibit foresight in their method. They will assess the pros and cons of each matter... When Islam regards power as being part of the Islamic way of life, does it suggest that power should always be used irrespective of the situation and the condition? Or has it fixed some limits for it, stipulated certain conditions, and restricted it to certain special circumstances?... Is power the first or the last remedy? And is it not a man's duty that he should weigh the useful results with the harmful results of the use of force? Or should he use force whatever the consequences may be?"

(The Fifth Conference)

The Policies of the Call

1. The conception of policies

Policies are the principles that govern work and the rules which are connected to them. This governing directs the process of the movement towards the adopted objectives. The value of policies resides in their being criteria used for measuring the rates of achievement, as well as in their being a guide for the decision-maker that directs him to priorities, the prospective objectives, available supplies and assignments, and the requirements that should be secured. Policies also help in specifying the procedures required for the achievement of goals.

2. The incentives of the policies

Tracing the words of Imam al-Banna concerning the policies of the Call, we find that he examined them in more than one tract and under different titles. He chose them after making an objective study about the contemporary conditions of his age. Thus, these policies are in conformity with his choices regarding the project of the revival that he introduced to the *Ummah*. This can be perceived in the Imam's words:

> "Perhaps, it was a special benevolence from Allah, the Greatest, to Al-Ikhwan movement that its foundation was laid in Isma`iliyyah, while it had been a problematic area

for a long time since the people were engaged in disputes over minor details of *Fiqh*. Lately, some minor differences arose there and eventually these minor differences assumed a formidable dimension. Those who were self-interested found a good opportunity in the situation. They aggravated the feelings of hostility and made the gulf of differences wider. These times were a very troublesome period, since there was also an intense struggle between the racist colonialists and patriotists. As the Call began in these times, it had some distinctive characteristics which differentiated it from other contemporary movements."

(The Fifth Conference)

3. The general policies of the Call

Imam al-Banna considered the contemporary conditions of his age when setting the general policies of the Call, which are represented in the following:

1. avoiding the points of *fiqhi* difference,
2. keeping away from the influence of elites and celebrities,
3. keeping away from associations and parties in the beginning,
4. taking gradual steps and acting according to different stages,
5. giving priority to the practical side than to the side of propaganda and publicity,
6. concentrating on youths, becasue nations rise and develop through them,
7. giving interest to both villages and cities on an equal footing,
8. balancing between the mind and the feelings, and between fact and fiction,

9. not taking risks, but rather utilizing efforts for useful and positive actions,

10. not defaming associations or individuals (avoiding personal attacks),

11. not indulging into side fights, whether on the part of the *Shari`ah* or on the part of some party,

12. committing to the law of cultural unity (the twenty principles).

It is important here to shed light in brief on some of these notable meanings in Imam al-Banna's words:

1. Avoiding the points of *fiqhi* difference

a. Difference in subsidiary matters is important and realistic.

b. It is wrong to fanaticize and refuse others' views and opinions.

2. Keeping away from the influence of elites and celebrities

a. to block the means to evil, lest people think evil of the *da`iyah* (blocking the means),

b. to avoid disfiguring the pure picture of the Call (distinghishability),

c. and to prevent exploitation and external direction (undependability).

3. Keeping away from bodies and parties in the beginning

a. This avoidance should be in the periods of the beginning and in cases of weakness.

b. Disputes and quarrels do not conform with the Islamic sense of brotherhood.

c. It is preferable to keep far from such desirable matters and to persevere patiently before deprivation.

d. Communicating with them through mutual talks is recommended when ready.

4. Taking gradual steps and acting according to different stages

a. The generality of publicity.

b. Abundance in proponents.

c. The solidity of formation.

5. Giving priority to the practical side than to the side of propaganda and publicity

a. This is to avoid showing off.

b. One should balance between this view and what is reported concerning the announcement of news.

c. The Muslim Brothers dislike that people depend on false propaganda and foolishness.

d. The Muslim Brothers avoid treating the Call through fierce disputes or harmful friendship.

6. Concentrating on youths, because nations rise and develop through them

a. Youths are the most suitable targets of calls.

b. There should be constancy and condensation of effort for gaining the support of the Muslim youths in Al-Ikhwan's activities.

7. Balancing between the mind and the feelings, and between fact and fiction

a. Balancing between the mind and feelings.

b. Balancing between fact and fiction.

c. Being in conformity with the laws of the universe.

d. Using the ways of rectification, utilization, and changing, and seeking help in the Divine ways.

e. Waiting for victory.

These are the basic lines of the general policies that Imam al-Banna set for Al-Ikhwan movement and their Call for accomplishing the revival project and establishing the ideal Muslim State.

Chapter Five

The *Tarbiyah*-based Construction of the Call

- Obstacles on the Path of the Call
- The *Tarbiyah*-based Construction of the Call

It is natural that calls face obstacles and hindrances. The more supreme a call is, the more obstacles and hindrances it meets. Hence, the *tarbiyah*-based construction is very necessary to make faithful, forbearant, patient, and persistent men who are absolutely ready to sacrifice for the cause of Allah. Accordingly, this chapter deals with two sections:

1. obstacles on the path of the Call,

2. and the *tarbiyah*-based construction of the Call.

Obstacles on the Path of the Call

First: the expected obstacles

Being experienced and knowledgeable, Imam al-Banna clarified the nature and causes of the expected obstacles on the path of the Call and the Brotherhood's attitude towards them. He said,

> "I would like to admit to you that frankly your Call is still unknown to many people, and the day they find out about it and grasp its potential and objectives, it will face stern opposition and sharp hostility. Your way will be riddled with hardship and obstacles. Only then will you be following the path of those who are to convey noble messages. For the moment you are still unknown, simply preparing for the Call and getting ready for the struggle that lies ahead of you."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

In the same tract, Imam al-Banna outlined the basic obstacles as follows:

The first obstacle: ignorance of the people.

The second obstacle: holding the religiosity of the religious people as strange and denying official scholars.

The third obstacle: the hatred shown by presidents, leaders, and powerful and rich men.

The fourth obstacle: the stance of all governments against Al-Ikhwan in order to abort their activities.

The fifth obstacle: the oppressors' using all means to fight against them and extinguish the light of their Call.

The sixth obstacle: casting doubts and fabricating accusations.

﴿*They (the disbelievers, the Jews and the Christians) want to extinguish Allah's Light (with which Muhammad has been sent - Islamic Monotheism) with their mouths, but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected even though the Kafirun (disbelievers) hate (it).*﴾

(At-Tawbah: 32)

Secondly: Trials and tribulations (the expenses of the constitutional struggle)

Then, Imam al-Banna detailed in the same tract, the trials and tribulations that the Muslim Brothers would meet as a result of these obstacles, as follows:

The first tribulation: arrest and imprisonment.

The second tribulation: banishment and exile.

The third tribulation: confiscation of goods and suspension of employment.

The fourth tribulation: searching homes.

﴿*Do people think that they will be left alone because they say: 'We believe,' and will not be tested.*﴾

(Al-`Ankabut: 2)

Thirdly: The ten duties that should be fulfilled during times of tribulation and in the face of obstacles

Eventually, Imam al-Banna specified the duties or factors for success, required to overcome these tribulations and obstacles, as follows:

The first duty: believing in Allah, exalting His presence, and depending and relying upon Him.

The second duty: fearing no one but Allah and standing in awe of no other than Him.

The third duty: performing that which Allah has made obligatory and shunning that which He has forbidden.

The fourth duty: modeling oneself on excellence and holding fast to perfection.

The fifth duty: drawing near to the Qur'an and studying the biography of the Prophet (pbuh) and taking counsel from it.

The sixth duty: being active workers rather than wranglers.

The seventh duty: loving one another, and adhering to fraternal unity.

The eighth duty: standing fast.

The ninth duty: listening to and obeying one's leaders.

The tenth duty: looking forward to Allah's aid and support.

﴿ *O You who believe! Shall I guide you to a commerce that will save you from a painful torment, that you believe in Allah and His Messenger (Muhammad), and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allah with your wealth and*

your lives. That will be better for you, if you but know! If you do so) He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow, and pleasant dwelling in Gardens of `Adn Eternity [`Adn (Eden) Paradise]. That is indeed the great success. And also (He will give you) another (blessing) which you love, help from Allah (against your enemies) and a near victory. And give glad tidings (O Muhammad) to the believers. O you who believe! Be you helpers (in the Cause) of Allah as said `Isa (Jesus), son of Maryam (Mary), to Al Hawariyyun (the disciples): 'Who are my helpers (in the Cause) of Allah?' Al Hawariyyun said: 'We are helpers (in the Cause) of Allah'. Then a group of the Children of Israel believed and a group disbelieved. So We gave power to those who believed against their enemies, and they became the uppermost. ﴾

(As-Saff: 10-14)

Imam al-Banna concluded his instructions with the words,

"May Allah grant both of us success in that which He loves and approves, and steer us on the path of those who are good and rightly guided; may He make us live like the glorious and the fortunate, and grant us the death of martyrs and those who have striven in *jihad*, for He is the Best of Defenders, and the Best of Helpers!"

(Between Yesterday and Today)

The *Tarbiyah*-based Construction of the Call

Firstly: The input of *tarbiyah*

The categories of the people surrounding the Call and Imam al-Banna's attitude towards them

a. The categories of the people

Imam al-Banna divided the people in the environment of the Call into four categories, saying,

> "All we wish of people is that they make it clear as to which of four categories they belongs (with regard to our Call), as it is time for the Muslim to know his goal and specify his way:

1. **The believer in it:** we invite such a person to join us immediately and to work with us.
2. **The hesitant:** we leave such a person to his hesitancy but we advise him to form close links with us.
3. **The opportunist:** Allah is in no need of a person who is unaware that to Allah belongs the first right over his body and his wealth...
4. **The prejudiced:** we shall continue to love this individual and hope that he will come over to us and be convinced by our mission."

(Our Call)

b. The bases of choosing:

Then Imam al-Banna defined the qualities of the one who is to be among the proponents of the Call, saying,

> "Here I am declaring to the concerned among the people of Islam, that every Islamic organization in this era is badly in need of individuals who are active, intellectual, courageous, and productive. Thus, whoever knows that he has any of these characteristics but neglects participating in *jihad,* is guilty."

(Are We Practical People?)

1. **The active:** the dynamic, active person.

2. **The intellectual:** the person who people can benefit from his mind and thoughts.

3. **The courageous:** the courageous person who is ready to offer sacrifices.

4. **The productive:** the person who actually introduces achievements and successes.

Secondly: The process of *tarbiyah*

a. The effective educator *(da`iyah)*

Imam al-Banna stressed on the importance of the educator and the effective role that he plays in the process of *tarbiyah*, concentrating on some of his most significant characteristics. He said,

> "The *du`ah* of today are not like those of yesterday. They are educated, well equipped, and thoroughly trained

specialists; there are trained corps specializing in every ideology, clarifying its abstruse points, displaying its good features, and inventing new means and methods of disseminating this propaganda. They work out the easiest, most effortless, and most convenient ways to convince people to follow them... That is why it is necessary for those who propagate the Call (the educators) to perfect all these means, so that their efforts may produce the desired effect."

(Our Call)

In addition, Imam al-Banna defined the conditions required for the prospective educator, saying,

"He who comprehends this Call in all its aspects, is the only one fit enough to respond to it, devoting to it all that may be demanded of him in terms of his person, wealth, time, and health:

﴿ *Say: If your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, and the dwellings in which you delight ... are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger, and striving hard and fighting in His Cause, then wait until Allah brings about His Decision (torment). And Allah guides not the people who are Al-Fasiqun (the rebellious, disobedient to Allah).* ﴾

(At-Tawbah: 24)

This is because it is a call which does not tolerate divided loyalties, since its very nature is one of complete unity, and whosoever is prepared to accept it, will live through it as it lives through him."

(Our Call)

Thus, the basic characteristics of educators (*du`ah*), as required by Imam al-Banna, are:

1. Educated: (well-established in *shar`i*, human, and dynamic culture).

2. Well equipped: (materially, spiritually, and financially).

3. Trained: (ready to use things and skills which he is equipped with, in the best way.

4. Specialists: (each in a certain field that he can use to serve the Call properly).

b. The means of *tarbiyah*:

Throughout his tracts, Imam al-Banna spoke about the means that he used for educating, developing, and mobilizing his proponents. To illustrate, in the tract of *The Fifth Conference*, he outlined these means by saying,

> "As the first step, we placed the Call before the nation, regularly providing lessons, made constant tours, published a good deal of literature, held general and special meetings regularly, produced a newspaper for Al-Ikhwan and took advantage of the weekly "An-Nadhir". In this way we have made well-established steps in this phase and it has become obligatory that we take the second step; that of choosing, formation, and mobilization. The second step took various forms the most important of which are:
>
> 1. Families: (the cradle of fraternal relations)
>
> 2. Battalions: (institutes of spiritual education)
>
> 3. Tours: (the cradle of social relations)

4. Courses: (centers of habilitation and training)

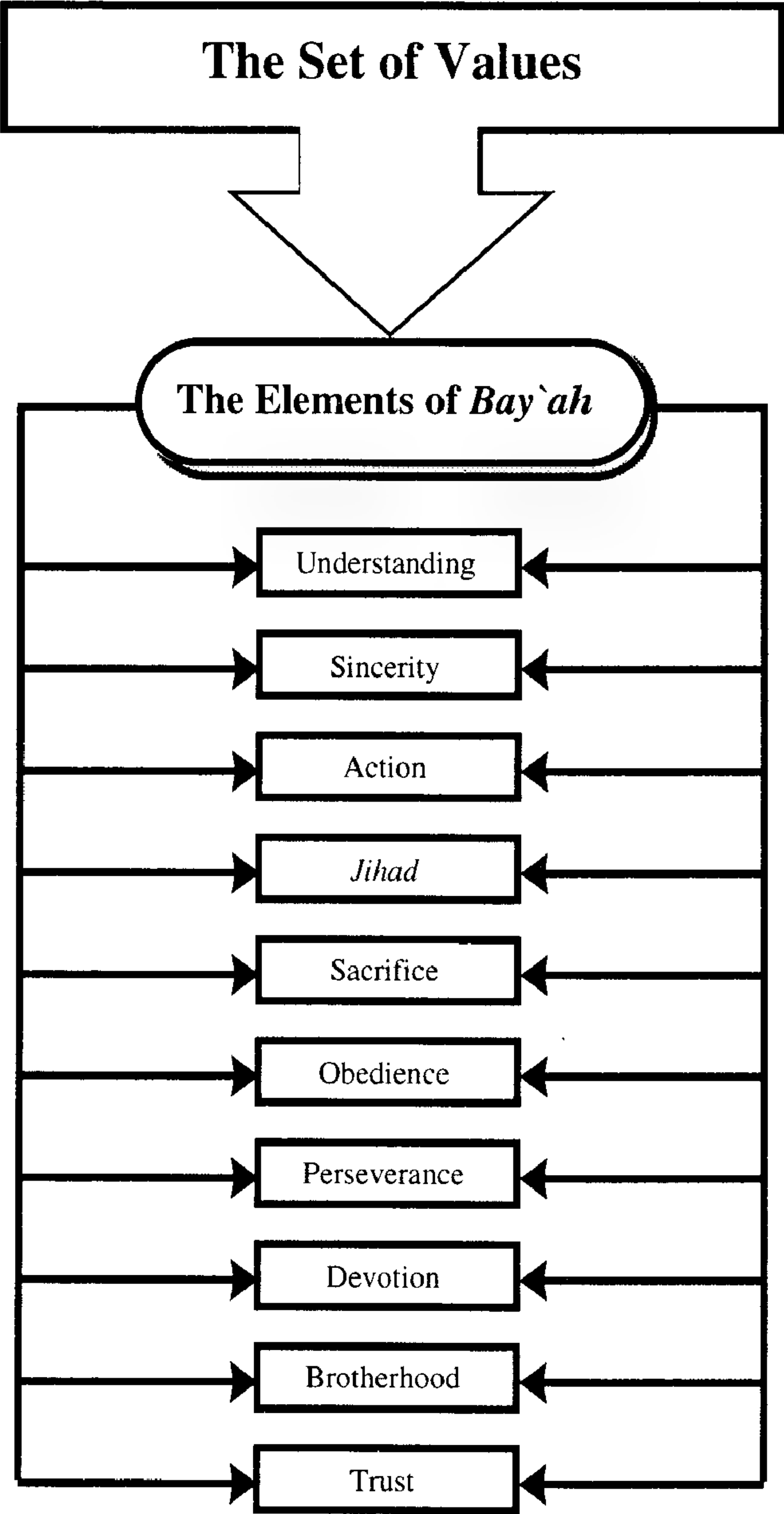
5. Camps: (institutes of physical education)

6. Conferences: (institutes of ideological and scientific education)."

(The Fifth Conference)

Thirdly: The output of *tarbiyah*

The main objective of *tarbiyah* is to develop, mobilize, and prepare men who are able to shoulder the responsibility of spreading and informing the Call and establishing the project of the revival to achieve an honorable life based on Islam. The most important product which is expected from *tarbiyah* is that it provides us with individuals who represent a number of values with and for which they live. By tracing the words of Imam al-Banna, we find that he presented a set of values that comprehends the most important qualities that man should have, both on behalf of himself and on behalf of the Organization. The following diagram clarifies the contents of this set of values.


The Set of Values
The Elements of *Bay`ah*
Understanding
Sincerity
Action
Jihad
Sacrifice
Obedience
Perseverance
Devotion
Brotherhood
Trust

The following are the objectives that the Muslim Brother should fulfil towards himself and the Organization, as well as the means or the duties that he should carry out in order to achieve these objectives, in the light of the previously mentioned set of values (the elements of *Bay`ah*)[1]

1. To have a strong body (fulfilling the physical duties).

a. Medical check, treatment, and physical protection.

b. Avoiding stimulants and smoking.

c. Cleanliness.

d. Refraining from all kinds of intoxicants.

e. Sporting and training.

2. To have a good character (fulfilling the moral duties).

a. Adhering to truthfulness and avoiding lying.

b. Keeping one's promises.

c. Being brave in the cause of truth and confessing when wrong.

d. Seriousness and moderate joking.

e. Modesty and humility.

f. Justice and controlling one's anger.

g. Public service.

h. Mercy, generosity, tolerance, and kindness.

3. To have cultured thinking (fulfilling the cultural duties).

a. Daily recitation of the Qur'an with contemplation and consideration.

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1. The objectives will be arranged in boldface, each followed by the relevant means or duties. (Translator)

b. Studying the Prophet's biography and the history of the righteous predecessors.

c. Studying *hadith*s (in general) and memorizing an-Nawawi's forty *hadith*s.

d. Studying a tract on beliefs and another on the branches of *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

e. Establishing a private library for enhancing general knowledge.

4. To be able to earn his own living (fulfilling the practical and financial duties).

a. Contributing in the field of free business.

b. Not depending on official jobs.

c. Perfecting work and avoiding cheating.

d. Suing fairly and fulfilling people's rights.

e. Keeping away from the means leading to illegal gains.

f. Keeping far from riba in all transactions.

g. Serving the Islamic treasury and guarding the national economy.

h. Participating in *da`wah* with a portion of one's personal property.

i. Saving money for emergencies and not insisting on embellishments.

5. To have correct belief (fulfilling the duties pertaining to belief).

a. Understanding Islam as the religion that comprehends all aspects of life.

b. Believing in the Qur'anic verses dealing with Allah's Attributes without interpretation or rejection.

c. Not accusing of disbelief any Muslim who testifies that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

d. The way to supplicate to Allah is not a matter of belief.

e. Denying the claim of knowing the unseen and fighting against it.

f. Visiting graves is an act of the *Sunnah* as long as it is done in the way narrated in the *Sunnah.*

g. Loving the righteous people and *awliya'* as a means of drawing near to Allah, the Almighty.

h. Fighting against *bid`ah* that has no origin in Islam.

6. To have true worship (fulfilling the duties pertaining to worship).

a. Being conscious of Allah, the Most High at all times.

b. Performing purification and ablution perfectly.

c. Performing the prescribed prayers at their due times.

d. Observing the fast of Ramadan and making pilgrimage (when able to do so).

e. Fulfilling these duties with the intention of *jihad.*

f. Showing repentance and constantly asking for forgiveness.

g. Striving against one's vain desires and inner instincts.

7. To control his inner instincts (fulfilling the duties pertaining to resisting one's vain desires).

a. Drawing close to Allah through showing obedience to Him.

b. Keeping away from all forms of disobedience.

c. Being sure that his good deeds exceed his evil ones.

d. Working righteousness eagerly and exuberantly.

8. To be careful about his time (fulfilling the duties pertaining to efficiency in spending time).

a. Making use ot time in beneficial things.

b. Being able to specify priorities.

c. Being accustomed to organizing one's time and dividing it appropriately.

9. To be organized in his affairs (fulfilling the duties pertaining to efficiency in organization).

a. Organizing his work, office, and papers.

b. Organizing his family and social relations.

c. Organizing his social work and duties.

10. To be willing to offer help and service to others (fulfilling the duties of social solidarity and public service).

a. Fulfilling the duties of brotherhood including love, appreciation, help, and altruism.

b. Participating in developing the Islamic treasury by encouraging Islamic projects.

c. Receiving training in public service.

Imam al-Banna concluded these objectives and duties with the words:

> "Dear truthful Brothers, this was a summary of your Call and a brief account of your ideology. These principles can be combined into five mottoes:

Allah is our goal,

the Messenger is our example,

the Qur'an is our constitution,

jihad is our way,

and martyrdom is our desire.

You can combine the facets of these in five words: modesty, recitation (of Qur'an and *Sunnah*), prayer, military preparedness, and ethics.

So, hold firmly to these teachings, or else you will find yourself amongst the frivolous, the lazy, and those who lag behind.

Be sure, if you act on these instructions, and make them the hope of your life and your utmost goal, your reward will be honor in this life and blessings and Divine favor in the Hereafter."

(The Teachings)

III

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL STATE

Chapter One:

Political Thought

Chapter Two:

Political Work

Chapter Three:

The Political Program

Chapter Four:

Policies of the State

Chapter Five:

The Civilizational Aspect of the State

Bases of Construction and Supporting Practical Duties

As a necessary introduction to the construction of the Islamic State according to his civilizational project, Imam al-Banna stated the fundamentals of this construction and the bases for comprehensive social reform as derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Then, he explained the duties which the individual and the Muslim society must undertake in order to establish and strengthen these bases. Hence, we will present these two basic elements, represented in the bases of construction and the practical duties, in some detail.

First: the bases of construction

Imam al-Banna stated the fact that the Qur'an embodies the bases for complete social reform and thus it is the basis upon which the Islamic State should be built. Then, he explained these bases which are summarized under the following headings:

1. Godliness.
2. The elevation of the human spirit.
3. The doctrine of reward and punishment.
4. The proclamation of the brotherhood of man.

5. Advancement for men and women together; the declaration of their joint responsibility and their equality: the precise definition of their respective duties.

6. The safeguarding of society by stipulating the right to life, property, work, health, freedom, education, and security for every member, and defining the legitimate sources of gain.

7. The controlling of the two instincts: the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of the preservation of the species, and the regulation of the alimentary and sexual demands.

8. Severity in punishing cardinal crimes.

9. The confirmation of the unity of the *Ummah* and condemnation of all the causes and symptoms of disunity.

10. The obligation of the *Ummah* to wage *jihad* to safeguard the principles of justice provided by this order.

11. Valuing the state as an embodiment of the ideology, capable of defending itself, and responsible for fulfilling its aim within its own society as well as conveying it to mankind as a whole.

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Second: practical duties

Imam al-Banna elaborated on the duties which the individual as well as the society must undertake in order to establish and strengthen the bases necessary for the construction of the Islamic State saying,

"This Qur'anic order stood in opposition to all other unchallenged systems and theoretical philosophies. It did not let its principles and teachings just remain as theories in one's head, or ideas confined to books, or words not going further than the mouths of men. On the contrary, it instituted ways to establish them, to strengthen them, and draw profit from their effects and results. It compelled the *Ummah* which believed and owed allegiance to it, to guard their duties making them a must. Omission from these duties and giving in to whimsical desires is simply unacceptable. Indeed, it rewards the worker, and punishes the negligent, such that it removes him from the boundaries set by the Islamic society and casts him into an abyss."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

According to Imam al-Banna, the most important duties and obligations which this order has placed, as a protective fence to establish its principles, are the following:

1. prayer, remembrance of Allah, repentance, supplication, etc.

2. fasting, chastity, and warning against luxury.

3. *Zakah*, alms giving, and expenditure for benevolent purposes.

4. pilgrimage, travel, journeying, discovery, and contemplating Allah's Kingdom.

5. Procurement, work, and the prohibition of begging.

6. *Jihad*, fighting, outfitting fighters, and caring for their families and interests after their departure.

7. Commanding what is good and giving sound advice.

8. Forbidding evil, and intervention when it takes place and against its perpetrators.

9. Obtaining education and knowledge by every male and female Muslim in the various disciplines of life, each one in what suits him/her best.

10. Sound manners and behavior and assiduous cultivation of high moral values.

11. Striving for physical health and control of the senses.

12. Social responsibility of both the ruler and ruled, in social welfare and obedience.

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Imam al-Banna stressed the importance of fulfilling these obligations saying:

"A Muslim is compelled to fulfil these obligations and put them into practice as the Qur'anic order has set them out. He must not slacken in performing any of them, for they have all been specified in the Ever-honorable Qur'an, and have been unequivocally illustrated in the deeds of the Prophet (pbuh), his Companions, and those who followed them in doing good, with simplicity and clarity. Every deed, establishes and affirms one or some of the principles cited above, all of which came to benefit mankind by virtue of their results and effects."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Chapter One

Political Thought

- Starting Points
- Conceptions

In order to explain the political thought that governs the project of the revival and the process of constructing the state according to it, we should firstly preset a brief definition of politics and the state.

1. The conception of politics

Politics is defined as the art of governing and running states, or the power and strength to attain one's goal, or the art of mutual concessions and agreements. In his book *As-Siyasah al-Hakimah* (Wise Politics), Ibn al-Qayyim defined *siyasah* (politics) as "an act that makes people nearer to goodness and farther from corruption even if it was not revealed by Allah or practiced by a Prophet, for any way that leads to attaining justice is recommended by the religion".

2. The conception of state

By state is meant the body which has legitimate power and authority, or a political body that is independently concerned with organizing public life on a certain land through permanent institutions. Authority means legitimate power.

Thereupon, we will briefly discuss the basic starting points and the basic conceptions of Al-Banna's political thoughts as a framework for the project of the revival and the construction of the state.

Starting Points

Imam al-Banna stated a number of starting points governing political thought within the project of the revival. For example, he asserted that Islam demands that a Muslim should be concerned with politics saying,

> "A person cannot be regarded as a perfect Muslim unless he is concerned with politics, farsighted concerning the affairs of his *Ummah*, and interested in them. I can also say that this limitation and abstraction is not admitted by Islam. Every Muslim community should take consideration for the political affairs of its *Ummah* among the most important items of its program, otherwise it will mean that this community still needs to understand the meaning of Islam."

(The Fifth Conference)

a- The comprehensive nature of Islam necessitates political work

In order to confirm this fact, Imam al-Banna stated that Islam is a comprehensive religion that deals with all spheres of life, and definitely the political side. He said,

> "The outcome of Al-Ikhwan's vast, comprehensive, and universal concept of Islam is that it covers all the facets of reform. It absorbs within itself the better elements of the

> thinking of all the schools of reform, and every sincere and modest reformer placed his hopes in it. To those conciliatory souls who recognized it and understood its objectives and aspirations, it became the center of their hopes. And, you can say that Al-Ikhwan is... a political organization because they demand the reformation of the government, amendments to its foreign policy, the development of honor and prestige amongst the subjects and the defense of the nationhood to the last limit."

(The Fifth Conference)

b. The state embodies the ideology

He also stated that the application of Islam as a comprehensive way of life is achieved through an Islamic State,

> "... and valuing the state as an embodiment of the ideology, capable to defend itself, and responsible for fulfilling its aim within its own society as well as conveying it to mankind as a whole." "... and a free Islamic State that operates its affairs according to the rules of Islam, applies its social system, proclaims its considerable principles, and propagates its wisdom amongst people."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

c. A Muslim should not neglect the executive side

Under the title "We and Politics" Imam al-Banna confirmed that the Movement adopts politics as a true conception of Islam and precise application of its system in order to reform executive power and construct the Islamic State. He said,

> "We are politicians in the sense that we are interested in the affairs of our *Ummah,* that we believe that the executive power is part of the instructions and rulings of Islam, that political freedom and national honor are among its pillars and obligations, and that we work actively to achieve full freedom so that the executive means can be reformed."

(The Sixth Conference)

d. The *Ummah* should demand their legitimate Islamic rights from those in power

Imam al-Banna urged the *Ummah* to demand their Islamic rights including the political ones saying,

> "Al-Ikhwan have not found a contemporary government... that is shouldering this burden nor have they found a government that is even showing its support to the Islamic idea. Therefore, the *Ummah* should demand their legitimate Islamic rights from those in power, and Al-Ikhwan should accompany this by constantly struggling towards this aim."

(The Fifth Conference)

e. Persuasion, spreading the Call, and constitutional struggle are the safest ways for society

Imam al-Banna stated that the way to achieve this end is conveying the Call with wisdom and good admonition and through active participation in political life. He said,

> "Our general means are specified into certain duties. We will propagate our Call using all available means... Then

will come constitutional struggle which will help the Call be heard in official associations so that they may advocate it and executive power may side with it. On this basis, Al-Ikhwan candidates will appear at the suitable time to represent the nation in parliamentary institutions. We are sure that Allah will help us to succeed as long as we seek His Face with our endeavor. ﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.*﴾ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(The Sixth Conference)

f. Governing is a pillar of Islam

Finally, while explaining the Muslim Brotherhood's attitude towards governing, Imam al-Banna stressed the fact that governing is a pillar of Islam saying,

"The Muslim Brothers regard governing as a pillar of Islam. Just as it guides and leads, it also implements. Accordingly the third Caliph once said, 'Surely Allah prevents by means of authority, (those actions) which may not be prevented by means of (the moral exhortation of) the Qur'an'. And the Prophet (pbuh) regarded governing as a pillar of the building of Islam. Religious scholars have also included governing amongst the *usul* (principles of faith), and not amongst *furu`* (details or branches). Therefore, Islam is ruling and implementation..."

(The Fifth Conference)

Imam al-Banna asserted these facts which are based on the principle that politics is an integral part of Islam and its social system. This is apparently expressed in his writings. Here are some examples:

1. Islam provides a political framework that ensures happiness in this world and virtue in the next

Al-Banna explained the political objective of Islam saying,

"O Our people, let not mere words and names cover you from the truth, and our real goals, nor let immaterial things veil you from the essential. It is an aim of Islam to provide happiness in this world and virtue in the next. We absorb this into our policy, and make no apologies for this. Therefore, govern yourselves according to it, and carry it to others, and you will win the glory of the world to come."

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

2. Islam does not separate politics from religion

Imam al-Banna stated that religion and politics are inseparable, which is one of the Islamic fundamentals, saying,

"You almost find that people who speak about politics and Islam, separate them from each other, as they see them as always disjointed. Hence, a society would be described as "Islamic, non-political" and a meeting as "religious that has nothing to do with politics". You would also observe that among the primary laws and programs of Islamic communities is this ordinance 'Do not interfere in political affairs!'..."

"So tell me Brothers: if Islam were to have no relation with politics, social affairs, economy, and culture, then what would it be? Would it be those *rak`ah*s which are performed without consciousness, or would it be those words which are as Rabi`ah al-`Adawiyyah described 'Asking for

forgiveness that requires (another) asking for forgiveness'? If so, how could it be that the Qur'an was revealed as an elaborate, perfect system ﴾... *as an exposition of everything, a guidance, a mercy, and glad tidings for those who have submitted themselves (to Allah as Muslims).* ﴿ (An-Nahl: 89)?"

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

3. Politics and governing are two fundamentals of the Islamic *Shari`ah* which are inseparable from its other fundamentals

Imam al-Banna explained that politics is one of the fundamentals of the *Shari`ah* saying,

"Islam, the religion of Monotheism, prescribes government as one of the bases of the Islamic social system. It does not allow chaos, nor does it accept that a Muslim community remains without an Imam. Allah, the Almighty commands,

﴾*And so judge (you O Muhammad) between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they turn you (O Muhammad) far away from some of that which Allah has sent down to you...*﴿

(Al-Ma'idah: 49)

Whoever thinks that the religion - or more accurately Islam - has no connection with politics, or that politics is not among its concerns, has wronged himself and proven that he does not know Islam well. I do not say that he has wronged Islam because Islam is Allah's Law that falsehood cannot come to it from before it or behind it. Therefore, the Islamic State cannot be established except on the basis of *da`wah* so that it can be a state of a mission, and not a mere

form of management or a materialist, spiritless government. By the same token, *da`wah* cannot be established except under a program of protection that safeguards, propagates, and strengthens it."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

4. It is a crime to keep silent while Islamic law is not being applied, and to demand it is an Islamic obligation

Imam al-Banna warned against keeping silent while Islamic law is not being applied and urged Muslim reformers to demand this objective. He said,

"The Muslim Brothers regard governing as a pillar of Islam. Just as it guides and leads, it also implements. Accordingly the third Caliph once said, 'Surely Allah prevents (wrongful actions) by means of authority, (those actions) which may not be prevented by means of (the moral exhortation of) the Qur'an.' And the Prophet (pbuh) regarded governing as a pillar of the building of Islam. Religious scholars have also included governing amongst the *usul* (principles of faith), and not amongst *furu`* (details or branches). Therefore, Islam is ruling and implementation..."

"It stands to reason that if the authorities in power accept the commandments of Allah and propagate the teachings of the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, then the reformers of the nation could content themselves with preaching and instructing. However, today we can see that Islamic law is not being applied and this means that the reformers of the *Ummah* are failing in their duty. There is no expiation for this crime, except that the reformers themselves stand up and take the

authority from those who are not obedient to the righteous religion."

(The Fifth Conference)

5. Moderation and rationality in tackling the issue of governing

Finally, he clearly stated that the aim of the Muslim Brotherhood is not governing but putting the Islamic *Shari`ah* into effect. He said,

"Al-Ikhwan do not want the rule for themselves; rather they are willing to be the supporters, helpers, and even the soldiers for those who are prepared to bear the burden of this responsibility, hold this trust, and fulfil it in accordance with Qur'anic injunctions. If there is nobody efficient to bear this responsibility then governing is a part of Al-Ikhwan's program and Al-Ikhwan will recover it from those who are averse to the rule of Allah. But wisdom and prudence advise Al-Ikhwan against proceeding to rule particularly when the *Ummah* is so far from the correct understanding of the religion. It is, therefore, essential that Al-Ikhwan's thinking and views be given full prominence such that they can secure the maximum possible coverage. Then the *Ummah* should be taught the preference of public interests over personal and private benefits."

(The Fifth Conference)

By these very clear starting points, Imam al-Banna elaborated the political thought which is based on the true conception of Islam as a complete, comprehensive way of life. This in turn explains the political aspect of the Muslim

Brotherhood movement and subsequently governs the civilizational project and the process of constructing the ideal Islamic State.

Conceptions

Imam al-Banna presented many basic, definite conceptions determining the bases of the project of the revival. Following are the most important of them:

1. Arabism

a. The conception of Arabism

Imam al-Banna defined it as follows:

"... According to Al-Ikhwan, the conception of Arabism is the same as defined by the Prophet (pbuh). Ibn-Kathir related, with reference to Mu`adh ibn Jabal, that the Prophet (pbuh) said, '*Behold! Arabism is in the tongue. Arabism is in the tongue (meaning that he who speaks Arabic is an Arab).*'"

(The Fifth Conference)

b. The status of the Arabs

"The Arabs were the first Islamic nation and they are the chosen community. Islam cannot be revived, unless the Arabs start to revive and become a unified force. These geographical boundaries and political divisions cannot terminate the value and feelings of Arabic/Islamic Unity. *(If the Arabs will degenerate, Islam too will degenerate.)* Islam started among the Arabs, reached the other nations through

them, its book was revealed in the Arabic language, and nations were united in its name."

(Our Call)

Thus, this conception can be summarized under the following headings:

- He who speaks Arabic is an Arab.
- If the Arabs will degenerate, Islam too will degenerate.
- The Arabs were the first Islamic nation and they are the chosen community.
- Boasting of Arabism does not mean racism, arrogance, or aggression against others.

2. Patriotism

a. Our conception of patriotism

In order to determine the meaning of this conception, Imam al-Banna explained some of its aspects as follows:

1. Patriotism in the sense of attachment and love for homeland

"If the advocates of patriotism mean by it love for one's homeland, attachment to it, and sentiment and affection towards it, it is something anchored in the very nature of the soul and is prescribed by Islam."

(Our Call)

2. Patriotism in the sense of freedom, greatness, and independence of homeland

"Or if they mean that it is necessary to make every effort to free the land from its ravagers, to defend its independence,

and to instill the principles of freedom and greatness in the souls of its people, then we are with them in this too."

(Our Call)

3. Patriotism in the sense of reinforcing society and the unity of the country

"Or if they mean by "patriotism" to reinforce the bonds which unite individuals within a given country, and to show them a way of utilizing this reinforcement for their best interests, then we also agree with them in this."

(Our Call)

b. The basis of our patriotism

Imam al-Banna defined the basis of patriotism saying,

"He is wrong whoever thinks that Al-Ikhwan are dissatisfied with (the idea of) homeland or patriotism, for Muslims are the most sincere and devoted of people as regards their relation with their countries, and they are the best to respect whoever faithfully makes efforts on behalf of his own country. History testifies to their patriotism and peerless devotion. However, the difference between Muslims and others who call for abstract patriotism is that the Islamic creed is the basis of the Muslims' patriotism... It may be sufficient evidence of the Muslim Brothers' patriotism that they deeply and definitely believe that it is an unforgivable crime to neglect returning even one span of the land that a Muslim dwells in; one must return it or die for it, for this is the only way to avoid Allah's punishment."

(To Youths)

c. The limits of our patriotism

Imam al-Banna determined the limits of Islamic patriotism saying,

> "The bone of contention between us and them is that while we define patriotism according to the creed of Islam, they define it according to territorial borders and geographical boundaries... Advocates of patriotism alone are not like this, since all that concerns them lies within a specific and narrowly defined region of the earth. This obvious difference is manifested whenever any nation desires to expand itself at the expense of others, for we would not approve of this at the expense of any Muslim country. We only seek power so that we may all share it. But the advocators of fanatical patriotism see no problem in this; and as a result, bonds of amicable relationship are snapped, power is dispersed, and the enemy strikes out by pushing each one against the other."

(Our Call)

d. The objective of our patriotism

Finally, Imam al-Banna stated the objective of Islamic patriotism saying,

> "Those who are only patriots and nothing else, seek for the most part to free their own country, and then afterwards to build up its strength materially, just as Europe is doing today. We, on the other hand, believe that the Muslim's duty is to sacrifice his life, his blood, and his wealth to carry out this trust, namely, to guide mankind to the light of Islam."

(Our Call)

Thus, according to Imam al-Banna, the elements of this conception can be summarized as follows:

- Love for one's homeland is anchored in the very nature of the soul and is prescribed by religion.
- Freedom of one's homeland and defense of its independence is an Islamic obligation.
- Reinforcement of the patriotic bond which unites individuals within the society is an Islamic principle.
- The basis of our patriotism is the Islamic creed.
- We define patriotism according to the creed of Islam not according to geographical boundaries.
- Islamic patriotism has a message to convey to the whole world.

3. Nationalism

a. Our conception of nationalism

Imam al-Banna determined it by explaining the following aspects:

- **Nationalism of honor and grandeur**

"If, by the principle of nationalism, they mean that descendants should follow the footsteps of their ancestors on the ladder to honor and grandeur... then it is a worthy, fine goal which we encourage and advocate... (*Men are of different ancestry and lineage: the best of them in pagan times are the best of them in Islam, if they but knew*)."

(Our Call)

• Nationalism in the sense of love for one's kin and nation

"Or if they mean by "nationalism" that a man's kin and nation are the most deserving out of all mankind for his love and devotion, and the most worthy of his favor and striving (*jihad*), then it is the truth... If what is intended by "nationalism" is that all of us are put to the test and held accountable to work and strive, it is up to every group to accomplish this goal in all its aspects, until we eventually meet, Allah willing, in the forecourt of victory, and then this division will have been a good thing indeed... All this is fine and great: It is not rejected by Islam; rather it is a criterion for us, and thus our hearts are open to receive it, and we urge all to accept it."

(Our Call)

• Pre-Islamic nationalism is rejected

"If, however, what is meant by "nationalism" is the revival of pre-Islamic customs which have been swept away, and distant memories that have been forgotten, while a successful civilization which has long been established is effaced, and its Islamic ties dissolved by nationalistic propaganda and racial glorification... then this version of nationalism is reprehensible, destructive in its consequences, and evil in its results... *(Allah has removed from you the arrogance of the Pre-Islamic Period and its vaunting of ancestry: mankind springs from Adam, and Adam springs from dust. An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab except by virtue of his being conscious of Allah.)* (A Prophetic *hadith*)"

(Our Call)

b. The bases of Islamic nationalism

Imam al-Banna explained the bases of Islamic nationalism saying,

> "Our nationalism is based on complete allegiance to Allah, His Messenger, and believers... Brother, come, let us listen together to Allah, (Glorified and Exalted be He) Who says,
>
> ﴿*Allah is the Wali (Protector or Guardian) of those who believe. He brings them out from darkness into light...*﴾
>
> (Al-Baqarah: 257)
>
> ﴿*Nay, Allah is your Mawla (Patron, Lord, Helper and Protector, etc.), and He is the Best of helpers.*﴾
>
> (Al `Imran: 150)
>
> ﴿*Verily, your Wali (Protector or Helper) is Allah, His Messenger, and the believers, - those who perform As-Salah (prayer), and give Zakah, and they bow down (submit themselves with obedience to Allah in prayer).*﴾
>
> (Al-Ma'idah: 55)
>
> ﴿*Verily, my Wali (Protector, Supporter, and Helper, etc.) is Allah Who has revealed the Book (the Qur'an), and He protects (supports and helps) the righteous.*﴾
>
> (Al-A`raf: 196)
>
> ﴿*Say: 'Nothing shall ever happen to us except what Allah has ordained for us. He is our Mawla (Lord, Helper and Protector)'. And in Allah let the believers put their trust.*﴾
>
> (At-Tawbah: 51)

﴾*No doubt! Verily, the Awliya' of Allah*[1], *no fear shall come upon them nor shall they grieve, - those who believed (in the Oneness of Allah - Islamic Monotheism), and used to fear Allah much.*﴿

(Yunus: 62-63)

﴾*That is because Allah is the Mawla (Lord, Master, Helper, Protector, etc.) of those who believe, and the disbelievers have no Mawla (lord, master, helper, protector, etc.).*﴿

(Muhammad: 11)

﴾*... But honour, power and glory belong to Allah, His Messenger (Muhammad), and to the believers, but the hypocrites know not.*﴿

(Al-Munafiqun: 8)

"*On the Day of Resurrection, Allah, Glorified and Exalted be He, says, 'O children of Adam, I set up a kinship and you set up a kinship and you said, 'He is so and so, son of so and so'. But I said, 'Verily, the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqwa [i.e. one of the Muttaqun (pious)]'*[2] *And today I shall raise up My kinship and humble your kinship.*"

(A *Hadith Qudsi*)"

"Dear Brother, people boast of their lineage only because they find in the deeds of their ancestors glory and nobility,

1. i.e., those who believe in the Oneness of Allah and fear Allah much (abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds which He has forbidden), and love Allah much (perform all kinds of good deeds which He has ordained).

2. *Surat al-Hujurat*: 13.

and because they intend by this to breathe the spirit of might and honor into the souls of their children. Beyond these two considerations there is nothing. Do you not see that allegiance to Allah, Glorified and Exalted be He), is the highest possible ambition that the ambitious may ever strive to attain in terms of glory and splendor? ﴾... *Verily, then to Allah belongs all honour, power and glory*﴿ (An-Nisa': 139) And the highest level one can uplift the soul to is that of the *`Illiyyun*[1], to breathe into it the spirit of youth alongside those who work (for the sake of Allah), for is there any honor greater than this, and is there anything more virtuous than seeing your own self dedicated to Allah, to Him connected, and to Him allied? On this matter, Allah the Almighty says, ﴾*On the contrary (he would say): 'Be you Rabbaniyyun (learned men of religion who practise what they know and also preach others), because you are teaching the Book, and you are studying it.'*﴿ (Al `Imran: 79)"

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

Thus according to Imam al-Banna the characteristics of nationalism in the Islamic perspective can be summarized as follows:

1. Holding one's nation and history dear and the following of the descendants in the footsteps of the ancestors.
2. Man's kin and nation are the most worthy of his concern as well as of his favor and goodness.
3. Fighting against boasting of race and pre-Islamic practices.

1. *`Illiyyun* may be the *`Illiyyun*, which is mentioned in *Surat al-Mutaffifin* (verses 18-21). (Reviser)

4. Our nationalism is based on complete allegiance to Allah, His Messenger, and the believers.

4. Universality

a. The Islamic conception of universality

Imam al-Banna defined it by saying,

"Our Call is universal, because it is directed towards the whole of mankind, and mankind in its view is one brotherhood: their origin is one, their father is one, and their descent is one. They have no preference over one another except by the extent of being dutiful to (and conscious of) Allah and the contribution they make of good and benefit to all humanity. Allah, the Almighty says,

﴾*O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife [Hawwa' (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women and fear Allah through Whom you demand your mutual (rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allah is Ever an All Watcher over you.*﴿

(An-Nisa': 1)

Therefore we do not believe in racism nor do we advocate discrimination in terms of color and race, but we call for the true sense of brotherhood between all mankind... Allah, the Almighty says,

﴾*O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Verily, the most honourable of you with*

Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqwa [i.e. one of the Muttaqun (pious)]...﴾

(Al-Hujurat: 13)

And the Prophet (pbuh) clearly stated,

'He who invites towards partisanship, is not from amongst us and he who dies for partisanship, he too is not from us.' Narrated by Ahmad on the authority of Jubayr ibn Mut`im)"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

b. Universality is the last link in our project

Imam al-Banna clearly explained that our highest objective is universality, saying,

"As for universality, it is our highest objective and greatest aim - the last link in the chain of reform, and the world is moving towards this. The only way forward is by joining together all nations, races, and communities. This should include the weak who would then have the opportunity to become strong; this interaction will improve the chances of a long lasting unity. All this will prepare the ground for this universal Call and will put into perspective the ideas of nationalism and patriotism, in which mankind have been staunch believers before. In the beginning it was necessary to believe in racial and nationalistic ideals. However, it was necessary to discard such ideals in order to be accepted as part of a much larger community. In order to fulfil this complete and universal unity, we must realize that it is something that will surely come about, although slowly, with the advent of time. Therefore, we must make it a part

of our target, placing it in front of our eyes; we must commence with the construction of humanity, one brick at a time; and we are not responsible to complete the construction, for every deadline has its Divine decree."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

We can summarize Al-Banna's conception of universality as follows:

1. Calling for human brotherhood and universal unity.
2. Rejecting racism and discrimination.
3. Calling for a new world order based on justice and equity.
4. Respecting international law provided that it is implemented with equity and equality.
5. Believing in the outcome of civilizations and accepting all that is good and beneficial from others.

To conclude, we can safely say that the basic conceptions determining the bases of the project of the revival, i.e. Arabism, patriotism, nationalism, and universality, are not restricted by geographical boundaries. But, they are defined according to the creed of Islam which renounce partisanship and call to Allah and hence its supreme goal is universality, i.e. guiding all humanity to the light of Islam.

Chapter Two
Political Work

- The Political Objectives of the Call
- Methods of Political Work
- Stages of Political Work
- Political Attitudes of the Call

The Political Objectives of the Call

1. Freeing the Muslim homeland

It is natural that the first objective of the Call is to free the Muslim homeland. Al-Banna said,

> "... and freeing the Muslim homeland from all foreign authority, for this is a natural right which belongs to every human being and which only the unjust oppressor will deny."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

2. The unity of the Muslim homeland

Imam al-Banna stressed the importance of the unity of the Muslim homeland saying,

> "After that, we want to join every part of our Islamic homeland that has been divided by Western policy and disunited by European greed. For this reason, we do not admit these political divisions, nor do we acknowledge these international agreements that have turned the Islamic homeland into weak disjointed small states that can be easily usurped. We do not accept that these nations be oppressed in their freedom. Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and every span of land on which there is a Muslim who testifies that there is

no god but Allah, all represent out greater homeland which we seek to liberate and save, and to join its separated parts."

(To Youths)

3. Establishing the Islamic State

Imam al-Banna said,

"... and the establishment of an Islamic State within this homeland, which acts according to the precepts of Islam, applies its social regulations, advocates its sound principles, and broadcasts its mission to all mankind. This is because as long as this state does not emerge, every Muslim is sinning and is responsible before Allah, the Almighty, for their failure and slackness to establish it. In these bewildering circumstances, it is against the interests of humanity that a state advocating injustice and oppression should arise, while there should be no one at all working for the advent of a state founded on truth, justice, and peace."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

4. The unity of the Arabs

Al-Banna stressed the unity of the Arabs as a necessary basis of the unity of the Muslims, saying,

"The unity of the Arabs is necessary for the recovery of the greatness of Islam, elevation of the word of the religion, and the establishment of the state of Allah. In this way, it becomes the duty of every Muslim that he should revive Arab unity and struggle to make it stable. This is the stand of the Muslim Brotherhood on the unity of the Arabs."

(The Fifth Conference)

5. The unity of the Muslims

Then he stated that the last objective is Islamic unity, saying,

> "Islam neither admits geographical differences, nor gives any importance to racial or blood distinctions. It regards all Muslims as members of one *Ummah* (nation or community) and takes all Muslim countries as one nation, although there may be great distances between them. Therefore, Al-Ikhwan respect this unity, believe in this relationship, and struggle for the unity of the Muslims and elevation of Islamic brotherhood."

(The Fifth Conference)

Then, Imam al-Banna summarized all the previous objectives, saying that the supreme political objective of the project of the revival consisted in:

> "Rebuilding the international prominence of the Islamic *Ummah* by liberating its lands, reviving its glorious past, bringing closer the cultures of its regions, and rallying under one word, until once again the long awaited unity and the lost Khilafah (caliphate) are returned."

(The Teachings)

Methods of Political Work

Imam al-Banna viewed that the preparation for the construction of the Islamic State can be made only through political work, which in turn has various forms and a variety of stages. These stages require various methods to effect political activity. We can benefit from any method as long as it is legitimate, does not contradict the principles of *Shari`ah,* and leads to a certain interest. The Call practiced many political methods including the following:

1. concentrated media activities,
2. addressing those in authority,
3. holding constitutional committees and submitting proposals,
4. preparing reformative programs and presenting them to those in authority,
5. political statements expressing the attitudes of the Organization,
6. participating in representative councils and assemblies and forming parties or participating in them,
7. declaring political demands clearly,
8. and establishing political alliances.

Stages of Political Work

In his tract *The Fifth Conference* Imam al-Banna viewed that through the history of calls the following three stages are inevitable:

1. *Ta`rif* (Introduction): in which the Call with all it consists of should be introduced and propagated to the public. According to Al-Banna this stage is characterized by:

- clarifying the true concepts to people,
- introducing the organization to them,
- urging the scholars to play their role in politics,
- and applying the policies that govern the work in this stage.

2. *Takwin* (Formation): in which effective, sincere men of sacrifice are chosen and institutions are established. According to Al-Banna this stage is characterized by:

- forming constitutional committees,
- forming legal committees,
- preparing comprehensive reformative programs,
- and objective criticism of situations.

3. *Tanfidh* (Implementation): in the third stage, principles will be translated into action though much hard work is required to fulfil this. According to Al-Banna this stage is characterized by:

- seeking to get into the parliament,
- public mobilization,
- and promotion of demands.

Political Attitudes of the Call

According to the objectives of the political work for the Call, its methods, and stages, Imam al-Banna defined his attitude very clearly or rather the political attitudes of the Call concerning the different aspects of the project of the revival. The most important of these aspects are governing, constitution, law, partisanship, minorities and foreigners, participation of women in political work, democracy, unity, and human rights.

1. Governing

a. Governing is part of the program

Imam al-Banna viewed that governing is necessary for the implementation of the project of the revival. He said,

> "Some people ask whether Al-Ikhwan include governing within their program. They ask, if this is the case then how will Al-Ikhwan achieve this? I shall answer this question completely...The Muslim Brothers regard governing as a pillar of Islam. Just as it guides and leads, it also implements. Accordingly the third Caliph once said, "Surely Allah prevents (wrongful actions) by means of authority, (those actions) which may not be prevented by means of (the moral exhortation of) the Qur'an". And the Prophet (pbuh) regarded governing as a pillar of the building of Islam. Religious scholars have also included governing

amongst the *usul* (principles of faith), and not amongst *furu`* (details or branches). Therefore, just as Islam is ruling and implementation, legislation and education, it is also law and enforcement."

(The Fifth Conference)

b. A Muslim does not admit any order that is not grounded on the basis of Islam

Imam al-Banna explained the nature of the governing which we advocate saying,

"We do not admit any order that is not grounded on the basis of Islam nor derives from its teachings. We will work to revive Islamic governing in all its aspects and form an Islamic government on its basis..."

(The Fifth Conference)

c. It is obligatory to work for the application of Islamic law and it is a crime to neglect this obligation

He stressed the necessity of the application of *Shari`ah*, saying,

"The Muslim reformers' slackness in demanding an Islam-based rule is a crime that cannot be expiated for, except that the reformers themselves stand up and take the authority from those who are not obedient to the righteous religion... Al-Ikhwan do not want the rule for themselves; rather they are willing to be the supporters, helpers, and even the soldiers for those who are prepared to bear the burden of this responsibility, hold this trust, and fulfil it in accordance with Qur'anic injunctions. If there is nobody efficient to bear this responsibility then governing is a part

of Al-Ikhwan's program and Al-Ikhwan will recover it from those who are averse to the rule of Allah."

(The Fifth Conference)

d. The objective of Al-Ikhwan is the application of *Shari`ah*, not government itself

Imam al-Banna determined the real objective of the Call of Al-Ikhwan in his saying,

"Al-Ikhwan regard themselves as *du`ah* who call people to the religion of Allah with wisdom and fair preaching. The objective of their Call is the application of Allah's Law as He has ordained, through available peaceful means and the present constitutional institutions. Al-Ikhwan do not pursue the reins of government for the sake of governing, as many people do nowadays, yet if any of these reins can be obtained through free, fair elections, they do not refuse to take it in view of their being people adopting a reform program based on Islamic teachings."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

e. Constitutional struggle is the best alternative

Imam al-Banna stated the private means for achieving this objective saying,

"Our general means... Then will come constitutional struggle which will help the Call be heard in official bodies so that they may advocate it and executive power may side with it. On this basis, Al-Ikhwan candidates will appear at the suitable time to represent the nation in parliamentary institutions. We are sure that Allah will help us to succeed

as long as we seek His Face with our endeavor. ﴿... *Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.* ﴾ (Al-Hajj: 40)"

(The Sixth Conference)

f. The necessity of laying an Islamic groundwork for the base of the Islamic government

Al-Banna explained the importance of sound *tarbiyah* in attaining the objective of Al-Ikhwan saying,

"But wisdom and prudence advise Al-Ikhwan against proceeding to rule particularly when the *Ummah* is so far from the correct understanding of the religion. It is, therefore, essential that Al-Ikhwan's thinking and views be given full prominence such that they can secure the maximum possible coverage. Then, the *Ummah* should be taught the preference of public interests over personal and private benefits..."

(The Fifth Conference)

2. Constitution

a. The difference between constitution and law

Al-Banna differentiated between them saying,

"Some other people ask about Al-Ikhwan's stand on the Constitution... Before answering this question, I want to differentiate between "Constitution" and "Law". "Constitution" is the general system of administration, which demarcates the circles of power of the authorities, duties of the officers, and fixes the limits of their relationship with the people.

Alternatively, "Law" is that act or rule which manages the mutual relationship of the individuals, protects their incorporeal and material rights, and takes account of their activities."

(The Fifth Conference)

b. The principles of constitutional government

Imam al-Banna explained the attitude towards constitutional government saying,

"Dear Brothers! The constitutional system of government includes the guarantee of personal freedom, the establishment of an advisory system of government, the consent to authority from the nation, the accountability of the rulers to the people - whatever they do, they should be accountable for it - and the demarcation of the sectors of power. When a conscientious man casts an eye over these principles of constitutional government, he clearly finds all these principles in conformity with Islamic teachings, the Islamic system, and the Islamic laws of government.

Therefore, Al-Ikhwan find the constitutional system of government to be the closest system of government to Islam. And, Al-Ikhwan do not know of any system from amongst today's prevalent systems of government which is closer to the Islamic system."

(The Fifth Conference)

c. The bases of constitution

Imam al-Banna explained what the constitution of the *Ummah* should include, saying,

"We believe that the instructions of the Ever-honorable Qur'an and the Purified *Sunnah* represent the most supreme constitution, and anything that contradicts either of them is unacceptable. The *Ummah* should have a written constitution whose rules will be derived from the texts of the *Shari`ah*, then from its general aims, goals, and rules, then according to its instructions concerning the regulation of dealing with lawful things. The constitution will secure balance between the functions of different institutions which manage the affairs of the state, so that none of them may contravene or override any of the others."

"The constitution will also contain rules and laws that protect public and private freedoms of all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims. It will establish government on the basis of consultation derived from the *Ummah*. It will also define the responsibilities of the ruler before the people and the way of calling him to account (for his deeds), guiding him to the right way, if he neglects fulfilling his duties, and changing him if necessary. This requires a parliamentary council which has effective legislative and supervising powers that represent the will of the people as a result of free, fair elections; the decisions of this council will be binding."

(This is Our Call)

3. Law

a. Islam explained the principles of legislation and supplementary ingredients of rulings

Al-Banna stressed this fact saying,

"Islam is not passive on law. It has provided the principles of *Shari`ah* and supplementary rules whether they are civil, criminal, commercial, or international. All of them are found in the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, and they are also covered in the books of jurisprudence. This was acknowledged by the top lawyers of the world when they acted as representatives at the World Conference of Le Havre."

(The Fifth Conference)

b. Contradiction between law and Islam is not acceptable

Al-Banna confirmed that the project of the revival does not accept any contradiction between law and Islam. He said,

"It is not acceptable at all that a law, which is in complete contradiction to the teachings of Islam, Qur'anic rules, and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (pbuh), be enforced amongst a Muslim nation, since it is altogether different from the guidance of Allah and the Prophet (pbuh). That is why Allah warned about it and emphasized this to His Messenger:

﴿*And so judge (you O Muhammad) between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they turn you (O Muhammad) far away from some of that which Allah has sent down to you. And if they turn away, then know that Allah's Will is to punish them for some sins of theirs. And truly, most of men are Fasiqun (rebellious and disobedient to Allah). Do they then seek the judgement of (the Days of) Ignorance? And who is better in judgement than Allah for a people who have firm Faith?*﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 49-50)

﴾... *And whosoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, such are the Kafirun (i.e. disbelievers - of a lesser degree as they do not act on Allah's Laws).* ﴿

(Al-Ma'idah: 44)

﴾... *And whosoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, such are the Zalimun (polytheists and wrongdoers - of a lesser degree).* ﴿

(Al-Ma'idah: 45)

﴾... *And whosoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed (then) such (people) are the Fasiqun (the rebellious i.e. disobedient (of a lesser degree) to Allah.* ﴿

(Al-Ma'idah: 47)

In what position will a Muslim who believes in Allah and His rules and listens to these clear verses and *hadith*s be when he discovers that he himself is in the suffocating clutch of a law that contravenes Islamic injunctions? Again, these man-made laws clash with the constitution which states that Islam is the religion of the state. So I ask the intellectuals: how should we reconcile the two?

What should the Muslim think, when the law backs those who commit *zina* (adultery or fornication), makes *riba* compulsory, gives free leave to alcoholic drinks, and promotes the cause of gambling whereas Allah and the Prophet (pbuh) made *zina* absolutely prohibited, rendered gambling inadmissible, forbade the consumption of alcoholic drinks, and declared war against riba? Should this Muslim be obedient to Allah, the Almighty and the Messenger (pbuh) and disobey the government and the law; or disobey Allah and the Messenger and be obedient to the

government in this manner and in doing so purchase the misfortunes of this world and the next?"

(The Fifth Conference)

c. Laws must be modified in order to be in conformity with Islamic legislation

Al-Banna stressed this basic demand saying,

"Al-Ikhwan can neither agree to this law nor can they give their consent to it. They are ready to use every possible way to replace this law by the Islamic *Shari`ah* which is equitable and based on justice. This is not the occasion to discuss any doubts on this matter as we are only clarifying our stance here; we have worked hard for this stance in the past and will continue to do so in the future. We will continue to progress, removing any hindrances and clearing any doubts, until there is no more persecution and the religion becomes Allah's."

(The Fifth Conference)

4. Partisanship

a. Political partisanship in principle

In his view of partisanship as he witnessed it, Imam al-Banna stated,

"I have my own opinions concerning political partisanship and I do not want to oblige anyone to accept them because no one has the right to do so. Yet, I also do not want to conceal them from people... I will deal with the principle as it is, and I will tackle its consequences but I will not judge

parties, for I will leave this for history and public opinion... Perhaps political partisanship is possible in some countries but it is not possible in all countries... We want to construct our nation strongly and this requires cooperation of efforts, availability of different forms of strength, benefiting from all talents, complete stability, and giving full time for the fields of reform. We have a prolonged program of internal reform that we have to subject all our efforts to fulfil to save this people... that requires suitable leadership and right guidance..."

(Students' Conference)

b. Unacceptable partisanship

Due to the negatives of partisanship in his time Al-Banna stated,

"Islam is the religion which adopts unity in everything. It is the religion that calls for peace and purity of the hearts, true fraternity, and faithful cooperation among all mankind aside from the one nation and one people. It does not admit the system of partisanship; the Qur'an states, ﴿*And hold fast, all of you together, to the Rope of Allah (i.e. this Qur'an), and be not divided among yourselves...*﴾ *(Al'Imran: 103)* Once the Prophet (pbuh) asked, *'May I guide you to that which excels the degree of prayer and fasting?'* 'Yes, O Messenger of Allah,' the listeners replied. He said, *'(It is) making reconciliation between (disputants), for (dispute and) division ruin (people's) religion.'*"

(Students' Conference)

c. The beginning of political parties and their objective

Imam al-Banna evaluated the political parties in his time saying,

> "Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun are of the view that political parties are the products of special circumstances and the foundation of them all is self-interest and not the welfare of the nation... But at the same time, they are prepared to do anything to gain power and use every tactic towards this end. They use party propaganda and employ all honorable or dishonorable means and they are prepared to harm any party that comes in their way."

(The Fifth Conference)

d. Negative effects of partisanship

Imam al-Banna mentioned the negative effects of partisanship in his time saying,

> "Al-Ikhwan think that the party politics of today have disrupted the day-to-day lives of the people, harmed morality and have served to encourage unproductive work rather than productive work."

(The Fifth Conference)

e. The representative system and party system

Imam al-Banna stated,

> "Al-Ikhwan also think that the representative or the parliamentary system of government does not necessitate the need of political parties as they are today. Many constitutional governments run their parliaments on the one

party system or through coalitions between different political parties, therefore it is not groundless to say that the parliamentary system cannot do without parties."

(The Fifth Conference)

f. The difference between partisanship and freedom of expression

Imam al-Banna differentiated between partisanship and freedom of expression, saying:

"Brothers, there is a difference between partisanship, which votes for dispute and division of views and public opinion and everything that branches from it, and between freedom of expression which is allowed and confirmed by Islam. Such partisanship is also different from a thorough examination of matters, investigation of affairs, and difference which is only in pursuit of truth; once truth is clarified, everyone is bound by it irrespective of whether it follows the majority or consensus of opinion, so that the *Ummah* can always be seen as united and the leaders unanimously in agreement. "

(Students' Conference)

g. Coalition between the parties

In that time Al-Banna viewed that coalition between the parties was useless. He said,

"Al-Ikhwan regard coalition between the parties as useless, as this is only an anaesthetic but it is in no way the real remedy for the disease. Even within coalition, it is only a matter of time before the standard-bearers of parties be at

loggerheads with each other and this would lead to a fresh dispute that may be more severe than the first dispute. The most effective and reliable remedy is that all parties be disbanded. They have fulfilled their duties, and the circumstances for which they were formed no longer remain. They should know that 'every period of time demands different types of government and different kinds of men'."

(The Fifth Conference)

h. The acceptable party system

Imam al-Banna finally accepted the idea of the multiparty system after the formation and establishment of the state, though he rejected it at the beginning of this stage because of the special understanding concerning its conception. He said,

"The multiparty system and difference in subsidiary matters may be possible on the part of a nation which has completely achieved independence and establishment of the state, but this is not acceptable on the part of a rising nation. However, international events drove all nations to desert the party system or keep only the traditional, nominal party system along with unity in all trends."

(Students' Conference)

i. Pure party system

On the basis of his belief in the multiparty system and mature political practice, Imam al-Banna said,

"We represent the comprehensive call of the Qur'an: a pure *sufi* way... a beneficial society... an effective social institution...

> and a pure political party that gathers people around one opinion impartially, defines its goals, and is able to lead and direct people properly."

(Assembly of the Chiefs of the Districts and Centers of *Jihad*)

j. The opinion of the Guidance Office[1]

Due to the change of time and circumstances, and the dominance of a totalitarian system which led to loss of freedoms and the existence of a despotic system and because of attaining reasonable political maturity after the independence of the nation, the office has decided to accept the multiparty system as a guarantee against individual despotism.

5. Non-Muslim minorities and foreigners

a. The general attitude towards minorities

Imam al-Banna explained the attitude of Islam towards non-Muslim minorities saying,

> "People think that adhering to Islam and making it the basis for regulating one's life, are incompatible with the existence of non-Muslim minorities within the Muslim *Ummah*, as well as the unity of the different races of a nation, which is one of the strongest pillars of modernist revival. However, exactly the opposite is true. Islam, which was originated by the All-Wise and All-Knowing, the One Who knows the past, present, and future of a nation, had taken all the measures to overcome this problem before it arose. The wise and sanctified rules did not appear without containing

1. The headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization.

clear and unambiguous injunctions concerning the protection of minorities. Does mankind require anything more self-evident than the Qur'anic text: ﴾*Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion and did not drive you out of your homes. Verily, Allah loves those who deal with equity.*﴿ (Al-Mumtahanah: 8)"

(Towards the Light)

b. Sanctifying the unity of mankind and religious unity

Imam al-Banna said,

"Islam sanctified the unity of mankind as a whole. The Almighty says,

﴾*O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another...*﴿

(Al-Hujurat: 13)

Likewise, it sanctified universal religious unity, putting an end to fanaticism, and ordaining its people to have faith in all the revealed religions (in their original undistorted form), as the Almighty says,

﴾*Say (O Muslims), 'We believe in Allah and that which has been sent down to us and that which has been sent down to Ibrahim (Abraham), Isma`il (Ishmael), Ishaq (Isaac), Ya`qub (Jacob), and to Al-Asbat [the twelve sons of Ya`qub (Jacob)], and that which has been given to Musa (Moses) and `Isa (Jesus), and that which has been given to the Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between*

any of them, and to Him we have submitted (in Islam).' So if they believe in the like of that which you believe, then they are rightly guided, but if they turn away, then they are only in opposition. So Allah will suffice you against them. And He is the All-Hearer, the All-Knower. [Our Sibghah (religion) is] the Sibghah (Religion) of Allah (Islam) and which Sibghah (religion) can be better than Allah's?... ﴾

(Al-Baqarah: 136-138)

This Islam, which was founded according to such a pattern of moderation and extreme justice, could not possibly be the cause for its followers to disrupt a long lasting unity. On the contrary, it has endowed this unity as being sacred, whereas formerly it used to draw its strength solely from the civil authority. Islam has very precisely defined those whom we ought to oppose and boycott, and with whom we should cut off all relations. Following the verse cited earlier (Al-Mumtahanah: 8), the Almighty says,

﴿ *It is only as regards those who fought against you on account of religion, and have driven you out of your homes, and helped to drive you out, that Allah forbids you to befriend them. And whosoever will befriend them, then such are the Zalimun (wrong-doers those who disobey Allah).* ﴾ (Al-Mumtahanah: 9)"

(Towards the Light)

c. Al-Ikhwan's position with respect to Christians

Imam al-Banna explained Al-Ikhwan's attitude with respect to Christians saying,

"Our position with regard to our Christian brothers in the Arab world is a clear, ancient, and well known position.

They have the same rights and are demanded to fulfil the same duties; they are residents just like us and brothers in the patriotic struggle; they have all the rights as residents, whether materialistic or spiritual, civil or political; doing good to them and cooperating with them for the sake of good are Islamic duties that a Muslim has no right to regard as light or neglect abiding by. We are free from whoever says or does otherwise."

(Declaration for People)

d. Al-Ikhwan's position with respect to foreigners

He also explained the general position with respect to foreigners saying,

"Our position with respect to foreigners is one of peace and sympathy, so long as they behave with rectitude and sincerity. But, if their consciences grow corrupt and their crimes increase, the Qur'an has already defined our stance regarding them:

﴾*O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitanah (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends, etc.) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites) since they will not fail to do their best to corrupt you. They desire to harm you severely. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, but what their breasts conceal is far worse. Indeed We have made plain to you the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses) if you understand. Lo! You are the ones who love them but they love you not...*﴿ (Al `Imran: 118-119)"

(Towards the Light)

e. Al-Ikhwan's conception of citizenship

Imam al-Banna explained Al-Ikhwan's conception of citizenship precisely saying,

> "Al-Ikhwan view that the citizenship or nationality that a state gives to its subjects has replaced the conception of Ahl adh-Dhimmah[1]. They also view that the basis of this citizenship is complete participation and full equality in rights and duties, but matters pertaining to personal status such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance, are to be determined according to the religion of each citizen. According to this citizenship and in order that the society may not be deprived of the capabilities and capacities of its members, Al-Ikhwan maintain that Christians have the right to be appointed in any position other than that of the president of the state, including the positions of counselors, managers, ministers, and so on. Along with Muslims, Christians represent one social, cultural, and civilizational entity which is strongly coherent."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

9. Women's participation in political activity

The general principle

Islamic jurisprudence states that women are equal to men in principle. It is also stated that women are physically prepared to undertake special responsibilities which men cannot. Therefore, Imam al-Banna viewed that different physical formation necessitates different roles and responsibilities and hence

1. Free non-Muslim subjects living in a Muslim country. (Translator)

women should be primarily prepared to play their roles in taking care of the family and raising children and their work outside the home is not permitted except under necessity. He said,

> "This issue has nearly been settled. Islam highly evaluates woman and regards her as man's sister and partner in life; he is from her and she is from him ﴿... *You are (members) one of another...*﴾ (Al `Imran: 195). Islam also admits her complete personal, civil, and political rights, and treats her as an honorable human being that has certain rights and is demanded to fulfil certain duties. She is to be praised for fulfilling the duties and must be given full access to her rights. The Qur'an and the *Sunnah* contain many texts that confirm and clarify this meaning."

(Women)

The opinion of the Guidance Office

It is obligatory to give women the right to participate in political activities and to prepare them for public participation provided that the rules of *Shari`ah* are taken into consideration. The *fatwa* of the Office is summarized as follows:

> "In general women are not inferior to men. We proved the correctness of our juristic opinion that women have the right - just as men - to participate in the elections of parliaments, local councils, and syndicates. They also have the right to be elected as members of these councils and to assume leading offices except presidency and the like. As for judicial offices the issue is open to *ijtihad*."

(This Is Our Call)

10. Democracy

a. Abiding by the rules of the democratic system

Due to their belief in the principle of consultation, Al-Ikhwan adopt the democratic system. Imam al-Banna expressed this saying,

> "The Muslim Brothers opine that political reform is the real and basic access to all other forms of reform. This reform is digested in the necessity of making legislative elections which guarantee neutrality and fairness, and which are completely supervised by the judiciary, including the preparation of new lists of electors, the personal signing of each elector beside his name which is written in the voting register, counting of votes, and declaration of the results of the elections. Al-Ikhwan have prepared themselves and declared that they are ready to commit to the rules of democracy. Although there are no constitutional or judicial rules that prevent the establishment of a party of Al-Ikhwan or prevent their constitutional or juridical existence, some bodies, along with the ruling power, do not want any participation of Al-Ikhwan in the democratic experiment."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

b. Our democratic principles

Imam al-Banna determined the democratic principles which Al-Ikhwan abide by, saying,

> "Al-Ikhwan have specified the democratic principles which they abide by and call parties and other political authorities to support them as a national charter. They are fifteen principles, as follows:

1. Acknowledging that people are the source of all authorities, in such a manner that no person, party, organization, or authority is allowed to claim a right to power or to continuation in practicing it unless this is derived from the free and true will of the people.

2. Committing to and respecting the principle of power circulation through free and fair election.

3. Confirming the freedom of personal belief.

4. Confirming the freedom of the performance of religious rituals by the followers of all the acknowledged Divine religions.

5. Confirming the freedom and publicization of opinions and peaceful calling for them within the public order, public morals, and the basic constituents of the community. Freedom of possession and use of different mass media are necessary for achieving this.

6. Confirming the freedom to establish political parties; that no administrative body has the right to prevent or restrict this right; and that the independent judiciary power is the reference of determination of things and acts that contradict public order, public morals, and the basic constituents of the community, or of things which are regarded as violating the commitment to peaceful activity and non-turning to violence or threatening to use it.

7. Confirming the freedom of public, popular meetings and calling for them, and participating in them in such a manner that does not violate public safety or involves violence or the bearing of weapons.

8. Confirming the right to peaceful demonstration.

9. Confirming the necessity of representing people through a parliamentary council based on free elections and assigned for a definite period of time after which other elections are to be held, with the necessity that the laws of elections guarantee fairness and correctness of the elections and neutrality of those who are to operate them.

10. Guaranteeing the right of every citizen, man or woman, to the participation in parliamentary elections as long as he or she fulfils the general conditions determined by the law.

11. Preserving the right of every citizen, man or woman, to the membership of parliamentary councils as long as he or she fulfils the general conditions determined by the law.

12. Securing the independence of jurisdiction in all its degrees and with regard to all procedures; setting all conditions that preserve it against any form of suspicion or greed; no one should be prosecuted except before his regular judge; and all kinds of exceptional courts should be nullified, and the military courts should only deal with the crimes and contraventions of military persons.

13. Separating the power of accusation from that of investigation; the prosecution should be independent from the ministry of justice, and everyone who the prosecution puts under provisional detention has the right to complain of its decision before a judiciary body.

14. The army should be kept away from politics; it should only be concerned with the external safety of the state, and

the ruling power should not seek its help, directly or indirectly, to impose its will and sovereignty or to threaten with prevention of the freedom of the public; and the ministry of defense should be civil and political just like all other ministries.

15. Police force - and all internal systems of the state - should be civil as the constitution ordains; its duties as regards the preservation of the safety of both the state and the society as a whole, should be defined; it must not be used to preserve the entity of the ruling government or as an instrument to restrain opposition; a system should be outlined to control its work and its leadership, especially to prevent it from interfering in public activities and public elections."

(This Is Our Call)

11. Unity

Imam al-Banna raised some questions about unity saying,

"Many minds are perturbed with regard to the national, Eastern, Arabian, and Islamic unities, there being many points of difference on this matter. Comparisons are made; possibilities are discussed; advantages and disadvantages are debated and one of the two is supported and the other opposed.

What is the stand of Al-Ikhwan regarding this matter? Clarification of this is necessary, as many people criticize Al-Ikhwan's love of the native country and regard their understanding of Islam as being contradictory to the love of

one's country. Let it be remembered that we will not go against any of our basic principles since the basis of our thinking is to follow Islam and its teachings. We will not deviate from this. Therefore, we have to investigate the stance of Islam on this matter."

(The Fifth Conference)

a. National unity

Imam al-Banna gave a precise definition of national unity saying,

"Islam makes it obligatory on every Muslim to struggle for the welfare of his nation and to make sacrifices for the sake of its good and benefit. In this connection, he should give priority to the nearest relative and neighbor. Islam does not even permit that the *Zakah* should go further than the *qasr* limit (about 76, 6 km) unless there is an unavoidable need. In this way it is the duty of every Muslim that he should protect the frontier of the land in which he lives. He should serve the country, in which he has been raised. A Muslim understands his duty to his nation and is most useful to his countrymen. Al-Ikhwan are also most desirous of the welfare of their country. They lay down their lives in the service of the country. They are desirous of all kinds of honor and prestige, progress, elevation, good, and success for this dear and respected country... Al-Ikhwan love their country and aspire for its national unity. If someone is sincere to his country, sympathizes with his nation, and desires for its greatness, honor, and elevation, then Al-Ikhwan do not look down upon him, but regard him with

respect. This is purely from the point of view of nationalism to one's country."

(The Fifth Conference)

b. The unity of the Arabs

Then, he expressed the original justification for the unity of the Arabs saying,

"The unity of the Arabs is necessary for the recovery of the greatness of Islam, enforcement of the word of Islam, and the establishment of the state of Allah. In this way, it becomes the duty of every Muslim that he should revive the Arab unity and struggle to make it stable. This is the stand of Al-Ikhwan on the unity of the Arabs."

(The Fifth Conference)

c. The unity of the Muslims

Imam al-Banna explained Islamic citizenship or unity stating,

"Just as Islam is a faith and worship, it is also nationhood. All racial or ancestral distinctions apart from this are false. Allah the Sublime says, ﴿*The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion)...*﴾*(Al-Hujurat: 10)* Also, the Prophet (pbuh) said, '*A Muslim is the brother of a Muslim*'.

Therefore, all Muslims are brethren. The life of each one of them must be respected equally. Even if a Muslim with a subordinate position gives refuge to somebody, it shall be respected; and all shall be one against the enemies.

Remember that Islam neither admits geographical differences, nor gives any importance to racial or blood distinctions. It regards all Muslims as members of one *ummah* (nation or community) and takes all Muslim countries as one nation, although there may be great distances between them. Therefore, Al-Ikhwan respect this unity, believe in this relationship, and struggle for the unity of the Muslims and elevation of Islamic brotherhood. They regard every land on which there lives a Muslim and recites the *kalimah* 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah' as their nation."

(The Fifth Conference)

d. Universal unity

Finally, Imam al-Banna stressed the fact that Islam is a source of light and guidance for all humanity. He said,

"And finally, the Muslim Brothers are well-wishers for the entire world. They are, as such, the standard-bearers of world unity, as this is the highest objective of Islam. Allah, the Great says, ﴾*And We have sent you (O Muhammad) not but as a mercy for the `Alamin (mankind, jinns and all that exists).*﴿ (Al-Anbiya': 107)"

12. Human rights

a. Respecting human rights is a religious obligation

Al-Ikhwan view that respecting human rights is a religious obligation. Imam al-Banna expressed this view saying,

"Islam was and still is the only ideological and political ideal that honors man and humanity, irrespective of

language and race. From the very beginning, it protected people's blood, sanctities, property, and honor, made them inviolable, and enforced absolute commitment to them as a religious obligation and an Islamic ritual that no Muslim can be exempted from (even) as a result of the negligence of others; Allah, the Almighty ordains, ﴿*... and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety.*﴾ (Al-Ma'idah: 8)"

(Declaration for People)

b. Respecting human rights is a social and international requirement

Al-Ikhwan stress the importance of respecting these rights. Imam al-Banna said,

> "We are ahead of those who call for respecting human rights, securing them for all people, and facilitating the ways of practicing freedom within the limits of moral and legal laws. We do so out of our belief that man's freedom is his way to all good, renascence, and creativity. The enormous forms of injustice and oppression witnessed by this era are inflicted on the Muslims and not by them. All reasonable and believing people everywhere should raise their voices calling for equality in freedom and human rights. This equality is the only real way to social and international peace as well as to a new world order that will resist injustice, harm, and aggression."

(Declaration for People)

Thus, the position of Al-Ikhwan is clear in respect of all the different aspects of the revival project in accordance with the

objectives of the political activities of the Call, their means, and stages, on the basis of Imam al-Banna's thinking.

Chapter Three
The Political Program

- The Program of Social Reform
- The Program of Economic Reform
- The Program of Political Reform

The practical program reflects the cultural entity of any group and the bases on which it depends. It is also the real translation of its task and message, and the practical application of the way which it adopts. Therefore, we are keen to present the reformative program which Imam al-Banna introduced in writing and by delivering sermons to the *Ummah*, whether to the ruler directly, to the public and political powers, to the members of Al-Ikhwan, or through his election campaign which he organized to get into the parliament so that he might continue his constitutional struggle in the name of the Organization of Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. Here we present the basic features of Al-Banna's project firstly for guidance, and secondly for the sake of construction, and then we add to them what is necessary and renovate what can be renovated. The following paragraph is a summary of Al-Banna's demands in his tract *Towards the Light*. He said,

> "Having given a clear presentation of the spiritual sentiments that should prevail within the nation in its modern renaissance, we would like to point out, by way of conclusion, some of the practical manifestations and results which these sentiments should dictate. We are going to mention here only the broadest topics, since we are well aware that each one of these questions requires extensive, broad, and detailed study, taxing the energies and capacities of even specialists. We also know that we have not yet fully analyzed all the requirements and demands of the nation, nor all the manifestations of the renaissance. We do not believe that to fulfil these demands will be a simple matter which can be accomplished overnight, and we know there

are manifold obstacles before us which will require vast patience, great wisdom, and unrelenting determination. We know all this and can take it in our stride. Besides this, we know that where there is genuine resolve, the way will be made plain, and that if a strong willed nation chooses the path of virtue, it shall, by the will of Allah Almighty, attain what it desires. Stride forward, and Allah will be with you!"

(Towards the Light)

We have tackled the issue focusing on some examples for introduction and as a reminder, but the project is still open for every country and society to formulate according to their own circumstances. This is what Al-Banna introduced in his time.

The Program of Social Reform

According to Imam al-Banna, the Islamic program of social reform is based on the following ten principles:

1. Achieving godliness and religiosity in society.
2. Protecting general manners and strengthening social institutions.
3. Taking interest in the family (women, youth, and children).
4. Fighting against crime and corruption.
5. Reviving the *hisbah* system[1].
6. Establishing social justice and securing jobs and means of procurement.
7. Reforming construction and education.
8. Caring for physical health.
9. Directing media and art (to the path of Islam).
10. Organizing travel and summer resorts.

We will discuss these principles in some detail as follows.

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1. The *hisbah* system reacquires that a man called "*muhtasib*" is assigned to enjoin the right and forbid the wrong. Al-Mawardi said that this system is to be operated when the right is apparently neglected and the wrong is apparently committed. (Translator)

The first principle: achieving godliness and religiosity in society

According to Imam al-Banna, this principle includes:

1 Caring for all activities that elevate man.

2 Strengthening the cultural entity of the society.

The second principle: protecting general manners and strengthening social institutions

Imam al-Banna said regarding this principle,

"The upcoming nation, above all else, needs to set a dignified and established moral code, together with a magnanimous spirit fired by lofty aspirations. This is because it will have to meet the demands of the new age, which cannot be fulfilled unless it possesses sincere and strong morals founded on deep faith, unwavering determination, great self sacrifice, and considerable tolerance. Islam alone can create such a perfect soul, for it has made the purification of the soul the foundation for success. The Almighty says,

﴾*Indeed he succeeds who purifies his ownself. And indeed he fails who corrupts his ownself.*﴿

(Ash-Shams: 9-10)

He has made the reform of society incumbent upon the reform of the self and morality. He (Glory be to Him) says, ﴾*... Verily! Allah will not change the good condition of a people as long as they do not change their state of goodness themselves...*﴿ *(Ar-Ra`d: 11)...*

There is no agent like Islam, that can awaken the conscience, arouse feelings, and station a guard over the self. It is the only one that can regulate the deepest and most hidden secrets."

(Towards the Light)

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Conditioning the people to respect public morality.
2. Resisting harmful customs, whether economic, moral, or anything else; turning the tide of the masses away from such practices, and orienting them to all that is beneficial, or educating them in a way which conforms with their best interests. This involves such customs as weddings, funerals, birthdays, civil and religious holidays, and so on. The government should set a good example in this respect.
3. Getting rid of the foreign spirit in our homes with regard to language, manners, dress, nurses, nursemaids, and so on, especially in upper class homes.
4. Valuing the state as an embodiment of the ideology that is capable of defending itself, and responsible for fulfilling its aim within its own society as well as conveying it to mankind as a whole.
5. Strengthening the unity of the *Ummah* and condemning all the causes and symptoms of disunity.
6. Proclaiming the brotherhood of man.
7. Sound manners and behavior and assiduous cultivation of high moral values.

8. Establishing, caring for, and activating social and civil institutions which strengthen the solidarity of the society and help in organizing and mobilizing its members to combat public dangers and fulfil their public affairs.

The third principle: taking interest in the family (women, youth, and children)

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle, the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Dealing with the "woman issue" in a way that will both elevate her position and provide her with protection according to the teachings of Islam, so that this issue (socially the most important) is not left at the mercy of the biased writers and unorthodox notions of those who are deficient or excessive.
2. Encouraging marriage and procreation by all possible means, and forming a legislation that will protect and give moral support to the family, and solve the problems of marriage.
3. Advancing both men and women, declaring their joint responsibility and their equality, and defining their respective duties precisely.
4. Drawing up useful programs for youths, securing their basic needs, and directing them to serve their society and contribute to the accomplishment of collective programs of development.
5. Taking care of children, raising them properly, and guaranteeing the suitable environment for the mother and sound motherhood.

The fourth principle: fighting against crime and corruption

Imam al-Banna said,

> "In all nations there are aspects of social life controlled by their governments, regulated by their laws, and protected by their authorities. It is up to every nation to exert itself, so that all these internal features are in conformity with the aspects of religion and consistent with Islamic legislation and its decree... War must be waged on prostitution... Public bars must be closed... The perverted temptation to vice, destructive pleasure, and frivolous self-indulgence in the streets, in meeting places, in summer resorts, and in the countryside, all must be fought... It is the duty of the Muslim nations to do their utmost to fight and resist these practices and the like, with all the power their authority and laws are capable of exerting, without slacking or indifference. "

(To What Do We Invite Humanity?)

In order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Putting an end to prostitution.
2. Getting rid of gambling in all its forms.
3. Preparing a campaign against drinking, similar to the one against drugs.
4. Resisting *tabarruj* (display of attractions, especially on the part of women) and indecency, and directing women to what is proper.

5. Controlling the two instincts: the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of the preservation of the species, and regulating the alimentary and sexual demands.

6. Applying severe punishments to those who commit cardinal crimes and guaranteeing people's security.

The fifth principle: reviving the *hisbah* system

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following measures are necessary:

1. Applying the hisbah requirements and punishing all who are proven to have infringed any Islamic doctrine or attacked it; such as breaking the fast in the month of Ramadan, willful neglect of prayers, blaspheming Islam, and such similar matters.
2. Commanding the good and giving sound advice.
3. Forbidding evil, and boycotting its places and perpetrators.

The sixth principle: establishing social justice and securing jobs and means of procurement

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Adhering to procurement and work, and forbidding the practice of begging.
2. Safeguarding society by stipulating the right to life, property, work, and defining legitimate sources of gain.
3. Securing a good life and explaining the misunderstanding of asceticism.

4. Guaranteeing an equally good life for all members of society.
5. Solving the problems of money, poverty, and the distribution of wealth.
6. Eliminating the class system and fighting harsh capitalism.
7. Social responsibility of both the ruler and the ruled, in social welfare and obedience together.
8. Extending social welfare in society and considering it a joint responsibility shared by the individual, society, and the state.

The seventh principle: reforming construction and education

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Just as nations need power, they also need the science which supports this power and directs it in the best possible manner, providing them with all that they require in the way of inventions and discoveries. Islam does not reject science; indeed, it makes it as obligatory as the acquisition of power, and gives it its support. It suffices to say that the very first verse of the Book of Allah to be revealed says, ﴿*Read! In the Name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists), -has created man from a clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous, Who has taught (the writing) by the pen, -has taught man that which he knew not.*﴾ (Al-`Alaq: 1-5)"

(Towards the Light)

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Establishing a firm educational policy which will enhance and raise the level of education, unify its goals and purposes, bring the different cultures represented in the nation closer together, and make the first stage of its process dedicated to instilling a virtuous, patriotic spirit and good manners.
2. Encouraging the memorization of the Qur'an in public, non-official centers.
3. Concentrating on the Arabic language at every stage of education, and using it alone in the primary stages.
4. Caring for Islamic history, national history, national education, and the history of the civilization of Islam.
5. Assigning religious education as a basic subject in all schools, each according to its type, as well as at universities.
6. Merging elementary schools in villages and mosques, and making a thorough reform of both, as regards employees, cleanliness, and overall custodial care, so that the young can be trained on the performance of prayers and the elder on learning.
7. Developing different fields of education, i.e. educational management, curricula, training teachers, professional education, fighting illiteracy, university and higher education, and scientific research in all its forms.

The eighth principle: caring for physical health

Imam al-Banna said,

"Rising nations need to excel in military force, and the pillar of this force is physical health and strength. The

Qur'an points to this aspect in the story of a struggling nation which was ready to fight for the sake of its freedom, independence, and formation. So, Allah chose for it a leader, morally and ideologically sound, his physical strength in particular would allow him to bear the burden of fighting. This is what the Noble Qur'an relates concerning the Children of Israel and the confirmation of their leader, Talut (Saul): ﴿... *Verily, Allah has chosen him above you and has increased him abundantly in knowledge and stature...*﴾ (Al-Baqarah: 247)"

(Towards the Light)

Imam al-Banna indicated the importance of caring for physical health and bodily strength quoting some Prophetic traditions as follows:

- *"The strong believer is better than the weak believer."*
- *"Truly your body has a right over you."*
- *"We are a people who do not eat unless we are hungry, and when we eat, we do not satisfy our hunger (i.e. do not fill the stomach up)."*
- The Prophet (pbuh) forbade urinating and defecating in stagnant water.
- He (pbuh) declared quarantine against plague-ridden places, so that their inhabitants should not leave such a country nor any outsider enter it.
- He (pbuh) warned against contagion and asked people to run away from whoever is infected with leprosy.

- *"He who learns archery and then forgets it, does not belong to me."*

- He (pbuh) stringently forbade celibacy, monasticism, and punishing and weakening the body for the purpose of drawing near to Allah.

- In all these matters the Prophet (pbuh) guided the *Ummah* in the direction of moderation.

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Paying attention to matters of public health by spreading health information through various means; more so via hospitals, doctors, and mobile clinics, and facilitating the means of obtaining medical treatment.
2. Considering the problems of villages, regarding their cleanliness and the purification of their water supply.
3. Being keen on physical health and protection of the senses.

The ninth principle: directing media and art (to the path of Islam)

Imam al-Banna explained that this principle aims to strengthen and encourage positive values and spread a general spirit that opposes evil and fights against licentious manners. He, may Allah have mercy upon him, stressed,

> "The path of Islam is one of glory and fortitude, truth and strength, blessing and integrity, stability, virtue, and

nobility. Take the nation along this path, may Allah grant you success!"

(Towards the Light)

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Closing the morally undesirable ballrooms and dance halls, and forbidding dancing and such other hobbies.
2. Censoring theaters and cinemas, and selecting play scripts and film rolls rigorously.
3. Supervising songs, and selecting and inspecting them meticulously.
4. Carefully selecting lectures, songs, and subjects which are to be broadcast to the nation; and using radio and TV for the education of the nation in a virtuous and moral way.
5. Confiscating provocative stories and books that implant the seeds of skepticism in an insidious manner, and newspapers which strive to disseminate immorality and utilize lustful desires to support their corrupt aims.
6. Giving journalism a proper direction, and encouraging authors and writers to undertake Islamic subjects.

The tenth principle: organizing travel and summer resorts

According to Imam al-Banna, in order to achieve this principle the following practical measures should be taken:

1. Organizing summer vacation areas in such a way that will bring an end to the chaos, looseness, and promiscuity which nullify the main purpose of going on holiday.

2. Restricting the business hours of cafes, supervising the activities of their owners, directing them to what is of best interest to the public, and not allowing them to stay open for such long hours.

3. Utilizing these cafes to teach illiterates reading and writing: the rising generation of elementary school teachers and students can assist towards this end.

(Towards the Light)

The Program of Economic Reform

Imam al-Banna said,

> "It is well known that wealth is the nerve of life, and that economy is one of the basic pillars of a state. It is quite difficult that economy plays an effective role in revival and comprehensive development in the shade of Western economic theories, which are strange to the society, its identity, and its culture. Accordingly, there should be a program based on the principles and values of Islam. This program will mobilize the people's spiritual energy and their social power. It will also adopt serious, enterprising policies that comply with reality, achieve balance between production and consumption, between investment and saving, and between exports and imports, and consider the stage of social and economic development, and the capabilities available for the society, for the sake of the prospective change and the fulfilment of social peace, economic prosperity, and political stability."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

After mentioning the known man-made economic systems, Capitalism and Socialism, Imam al-Banna stressed the importance of the application of the Islamic system. He said,

> "I think we cannot benefit from any of these systems, for each one of them has open disadvantages, just as it has clear

advantages. Besides, they are systems that were originally made in other countries, due to other circumstances and reasons, and for other communities. On the other hand, we have the perfect system that leads to comprehensive reform; it is involved in the instructions of Islam, the religion of monotheism. Islam provides basic rules of economy which, if we understand and apply properly, will solve our problems and help us make use of all the advantages of these systems, avoid their disadvantages, and learn how to raise the level of living, how to secure stability for all classes, and how to find the nearest ways to a good life."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

According to Imam al-Banna, the Islamic program of economic reform is based on the following ten principles:

1. Regarding lawfully earned money as the basis of life, and the necessity to obtain it.
2. Enjoining work and procurement upon every capable person.
3. Tracing the sources of natural wealth and the necessity of benefiting from them.
4. Forbidding evil sources of procurement.
5. Bringing classes closer, to put an end to extreme wealth and grinding poverty.
6. Sanctity of the public treasury and respect for private ownership.
7. Organizing financial dealings and treating financial affairs meticulously.

8. Social solidarity.

9. The state is responsible for safeguarding this system.

10. Banning the exploitation of authority.

We will discuss these principles in some detail as follows:

The first principle: regarding lawfully earned money as the basis of life, and the necessity to obtain it

There are many well-known *shar`i* proofs which refer to this, such as:

- *"How good is the lawful property for the righteous man..."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

- *﴿And give not unto the foolish your property which Allah has made a means of support for you...﴾*

(An-Nisa': 5)

- *"Verily Allah forbids you from gossiping, asking so many (useless) questions, and from spoiling (your) property..."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

- *"He who dies while defending his honor is a martyr, and he who dies while defending his property is a martyr..."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

The second principle: enjoining work and procurement upon every capable person

There are many well-known proofs which refer to this, such as:

- *"And say (O Muhammad): 'Do deeds! Allah will see your deeds, and (so will) His Messenger and the believers. And you will be brought back to the All-Knower of the unseen and the seen. Then He will inform you of what you used to do.'"* (At-Tawbah: 105)

- *"(There is) no better food that a man can ever eat than that which he eats out of his own work."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

- *"A man may continue begging people until he comes on the Day of Resurrection without (even) a piece of flesh on his face."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

- `Umar ibn al-Khattab said, "No one of you should stop seeking his living and keep saying, 'O Allah, provide me (with my living)," as he already knows that heaven does not rain gold or silver."

The third principle: tracing the sources of natural wealth and the necessity of benefiting from them

The following verses prove this effect:

- *﴿See you not (O men) that Allah has subjected for you whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, and has completed and perfected His Graces upon you, (both) apparent and hidden?..."*

(Luqman: 20)

• ﴿*And has subjected to you all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth; it is all as a favour and kindness from Him. Verily, in it are signs for a people who think deeply."*

(Al-Jathiyah: 13)

The fourth principle: forbidding evil sources of gain

Imam al-Banna said,

"Among the instructions of Islam is the prohibition of evil sources of procurement. There are criteria according to which a gain is described as based on an evil source; it may be acquired without making any effort as in *riba*, gambling, lottery, and the like; it may be obtained without right as in fraud, theft, cheating, and the like; and it may be earned as a compensation for something harmful as in the price of intoxicants, pigs, drugs, and the like. These are all resources of gain which are not made lawful or admitted by Islam."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

The fifth principle: bringing classes closer, to put an end to extreme wealth and grinding poverty

Imam al-Banna said,

"Islam has set out rules to bring classes closer, by forbidding the rich to hoard wealth or indulge in luxury, and by encouraging the raising of living standards among the poor, by confirming their right in the treasury of the state and the wealth of the rich, and by describing the practical ways of achieving this. It has urged Muslims to give in

charity and arouses their interest in doing so through incentives. It has dispraised miserliness, hypocrisy, reminding of one's charity, and injury. Islam has also stressed the way of cooperation and a goodly loan for the pleasure of Allah, the Most High, and that which is with Him: ﴿*Help you one another in Al-Birr and At-Taqwa (virtue, righteousness and piety); but do not help one another in sin and transgression...*﴾ (Al-Ma'idah: 2)"

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

The sixth principle: sanctity of the public treasury and respect for private ownership

Imam al-Banna said,

"Islam has confirmed the sanctity and inviolability of the public treasury, and respect for private ownership as long as it does not contradict public interest."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

There are many *shar`i* proofs that ascertain the sanctity of the public treasury and respect for private ownership; for example:

- *"The whole of a Muslim for another Muslim is inviolable: his blood, his honor, and his property."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

- *"(There is) no harm to be inflicted or reciprocated."*

(A Prophetic *hadith*)

The seventh principle: organizing financial dealings and treating financial affairs meticulously

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Islam has legislated financial dealings within the limits of the interest of individuals and society. It has confirmed respect for contracts and commitments. It has also stressed on accurate treatment of financial dealings to the extent that it has made independent chapters in Islamic Jurisprudence, where it has prohibited manipulation, falsification, and similar evil practices pertaining to these dealings. Perhaps there is wisdom in prohibiting the use of gold and silver considering their being the international balance of currency."
>
> (Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

Here Imam al-Banna referred to the technical difference between the use of gold and silver as commodities, which is prohibited, and their use as currency, which is required. He also showed that the prohibition of their first use (i.e. as commodities) is to secure them for the second (i.e. as currencies). This is apt to lead transactions in the correct way and economic activity to become stable.

The eighth principle: social solidarity

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Islam has ordained social solidarity for every resident and that his comfort and living should be secured no matter

what he is, as long as he fulfils his duties or is unable to fulfil them because of some compulsory cause that he cannot overcome. `Umar ibn al-Khattab once passed by a Jewish man who was begging. `Umar blamed the man and asked him about the reason that drove him to do so. When he knew that the man was really disabled, `Umar blamed himself and said to him, 'We did not treat you justly, man; we took *jizyah* from you when you were strong and now we neglect you when you are weak.' Then, he ordered that the Jew should be given money from the public treasury that would satisfy his needs. Islam has moreover encouraged the propagation of the spirit of love and sympathy among all people."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System).

The ninth principle: the state is responsible for safeguarding this system

Imam al-Banna confirmed that the Islamic system,

"ordains that the state is responsible for safeguarding this system; it should take and collect it duly and spend it justly. `Umar ibn al-Khattab said what means, 'This property belongs to Allah and you are His servants, so a shepherd at the farthest place on earth should be given his right from this property while he is shepherding his sheep. And, whoever misappropriates will have what he has misappropriated in Hell.'"

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

The tenth principle: banning the exploitation of authority

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Islam also bans the misuse of power and authority, curses the person who gives bribes, person who receives them, and person who mediates between the two, and forbids presents on the part of rulers. In this regard, `Umar ibn al-Khattab used to ask his rulers about whatsoever they might have, more than their known property, saying, 'Where have you got this from? Surely you are collecting (fuel for) Hell and providing an inheritance of disgrace (by doing so)'. A ruler has no right to the public treasury of the state, except his needs."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

He concluded his eloquent, precise exposition of these principles saying,

> "This is the spirit of the Islamic economic system and its rules that we have presented very briefly. However, each one of these rules has many details which need large volumes to be elaborated. If we follow the guidance and light of these rules, we will find much goodness, Allah willing."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System)

Economic policies and measures

Imam al-Banna presented a number of practical measures to put these principles into effect. Following are the most important of them:

1. Holding financial independence, and depending on a stable reserve of the resources of the state, not on international banks.

2. Egyptianizing companies; replacing foreign capitals with national ones whenever possible; and freeing public facilities - the most important for the nation - from the hands of the foreigners; encouraging economic projects by providing jobs for the unemployed, transferring those in the hands of foreigners to the national sector; and protecting the masses from the oppression of multinational companies, keeping these within strict limits, and obtaining every possible benefit for the masses.

3. Utilizing natural resources as soon and productively as possible, and paying attention to major national projects.

4. Switching to industry.

5. Reconsidering the private ownership system, so large possessions will be decreased and compensations will be paid to their owners, and small possessions will be encouraged so as to increase the number of owners and consequently the rate of development.

6. Organizing social taxes, firstly *Zakah*, according to wealth, not profit; fighting against hoarding money and preventing it from circulation; and benefiting from it in economic projects as well as in carrying out necessary benevolent projects, such as houses for the aged, the poor, and orphans, and strengthening the armed forces.

7. Forbidding *riba*, fighting against it, and organizing banks in such a way that achieves this goal. The government

should be an example in this domain by relinquishing all usurious interests due on its own undertakings.

8. Encouraging home manual industries, which are the key to the industrial spirit or mentality.

9. Directing people to lessen luxury items and seek only their necessary needs. The seniors of the nation should set good examples to the juniors in this regard. Priority should be given to necessary projects over luxury items in terms of organization and execution.

10. Improving the situation of junior civil employees by raising their salaries, granting them steady increases and compensation, and by lowering the salaries of senior civil employees.

11. Reducing the number of government posts, retaining only the indispensable ones, and distributing tasks equitably and scrupulously.

12. Caring for the technical and social problems of workers, and raising their standard of living in numerous respects.

13. Encouraging agricultural and industrial counseling, and paying attention to the production level of peasants and industrial workers.

At the end of this part of the political program of the revival project, Imam al-Banna stressed on the importance of serious work to deal with defects with absolute strictness and suitable speed. He said,

"It is surely a serious matter that involves not the least of drollery, and it has already come in its utmost degree.

Consequently, there must be a decisive solution that will not be found except in Islam, the religion of monotheism."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

The Program of Political Reform

Allah the Most High says,

> ﴾*And so judge (you O Muhammad) between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they turn you (O Muhammad) far away from some of that which Allah has sent down to you...*﴿
>
> (Al-Ma'idah: 49)

Imam Al-Ghazali (may Allah be pleased with him) said, "*Shari`ah* is a basis and authority is a guardian; what has no basis is doomed to decline and what has no guardian is to be lost".

Imam al-Banna said,

> "The Islamic State cannot be established except on the basis of *da`wah* so that it can be a state of a mission, and not a mere form of management or a materialist, spiritless government. By the same token, *da`wah* cannot be established except under a program of protection that safeguards, propagates, and strengthens it."
>
> (Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

On the basis of Imam al-Banna's thinking, the Muslim Brotherhood's political reform program seeks:

> "To establish a political system that guarantees the achievement of the principle of Divine honoring on the part of man, protects

its rights and freedoms, and directs efforts towards the construction of the governing institutions in a way that makes them upright and effective. This system will also guarantee fairness and freedom with regard to the election of rulers and watching over them during the period assigned for their government, depending on constitutional bases that regulate the process of government and guarantee its soundness, the perfection of its administration, the circulation of its power, and its transition in a peaceful way."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

This section (i.e. the program of political reform) includes the following points:

1. The bases of the political system
2. The basic authorities of the state
3. The administration of governmental institutions
4. Defense and security
5. Foreign policy

We will now discuss the first four points and the remaining one will be discussed later in the next chapter.

1. The bases of the political system

On the basis of Imam al-Banna's thinking, the Muslim Brotherhood view that it is necessary to separate the three functions of the state. Imam al-Banna viewed,

"Authorities being only in the hand of an individual or a body, represent the most dangerous and the widest gate to

tyranny that ruins both the state and the community and destroys its construction and foundations. That is why the functions of the state are distributed among three authorities: legislative, executive, and judicial. These authorities are separated from one another due to political regulation and in order that oppression may not appear and justice may be achieved."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

2. The basic authorities of the state

Imam al-Banna discussed the three authorities of the state in some detail as follows:

- **The legislative authority (the constitution)**

According to Imam al-Banna, the legislative authority should undertake its responsibility in the light of the following bases:

1. Periodical, free elections; and radical reform of the law of elections.
2. Supervisory and legislative performance.
3. Evaluating the performance of the government.
4. Forming the supporting technical, administrative, and informative mechanisms.
5. Active connection between citizens and members of parliament.
6. Deepening the consultative, democratic practice.
7. Completing the process of formulating the *Shari`ah* rulings into a code of law.

• The executive authority (management, ministry, or government)

Imam al-Banna viewed that the executive authority should undertake its responsibility in the light of the following principles:

1. Electing the president according to a programmatic methodology.
2. Defining the relation between the three authorities.
3. Forming the government according to constitutional rules.
4. The proper use of the public treasury.
5. Proper, administrative organization.

• The judicial authority (the law)

Imam al-Banna maintained that the judicial authority should undertake its responsibility in the light of the following principles:

1. The independence of the judiciary.
2. The independence of the judiciary police.
3. Stating a system for appointing the head of the Judiciary Council, the deputy of the Supreme Court, and the public prosecutor.
4. Extending judicial inspection.
5. Organizing penal institutions.
6. Keeping the judiciary away from partisanship.
7. Establishing a supreme constitutional court.

8. Establishing administrative prosecutions and courts.

9. Choosing leaders on the basis of efficiency and competence.

10. Personal security of judges.

3. The administrative reform of governmental institutions

According to what Imam al-Banna mentioned in the tract *Towards the Light*, the following principles and measures should be taken in order to reform governmental institutions:

1. Spreading the Islamic spirit throughout all departments of the government, so that all its employees will feel responsible for adhering to Islamic teachings.
2. Setting the hours of work in summer and winter ahead of time, so that it will be easy to fulfil religious duties, and bring an end to late hours.
3. Putting an end to bribery and nepotism, and promotion should only be given to those who have the capability and who have a legitimate claim.
4. Weighing all governmental acts in view of Islamic rules and teachings, National holidays, receptions, official conferences, prisons, and hospitals should all be compatible with Islamic teachings; hours of work should be arranged such that they do not conflict with prayer times."

4. Defense and security

"Settling interior conditions, securing tranquility for individuals and groups, protecting the constitutional institution, confirming the democratic principle of

consultation, guaranteeing the principle of peaceful circulation of authorities, maintaining national sovereignty, and preserving the civilizational entity of society, are prerequisites for the achievement of construction and comprehensive development, as well as for the fulfilment of the Islamic civilizational project. However, it is unimaginable that all these matters can actually be achieved without the construction of the military and security institution on the bases of belief and patriotism which are apt to drive it away from all vain desires and fanaticism."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

With regard to the issue of defense and security, Imam al-Banna expressed his interest in this vital field in clear words. He said,

"Islam is more concerned with the question of *jihad* and the drafting and mobilization of the entire *Ummah* into one body, to defend the right cause with all its strength than any other ancient or modern system of living, whether religious or civil. The verses of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) are overflowing with all these noble ideals and they summon people in general, with the most eloquent expression and the clearest exposition, to *jihad*, to warfare, to the armed forces, and all means of land and sea fighting, under all circumstances...

My Brothers! The *Ummah* that knows how to die a noble and honorable death is granted an exalted life in this world and eternal felicity in the next. Degradation and dishonor are the results of loving this world and hating death..."

(Jihad)

Chapter Four

Policies of the State

- Domestic Policies
- Foreign Policy

The Position of the State in Islam

1. The position of the state

Defining the position of the state, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Islam, the religion of monotheism, prescribes government as one of the bases of the Islamic social system. It does not allow chaos, nor does it accept that a Muslim community remains without an Imam. Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) once said to one of his Companions, *'If you stop at a country where there is no ruler, leave it!'* In another *hadith,* he (pbuh) also said to some of his Companions, *'If you are three, make one of you your leader'* ... It is also interesting to recall Imam al-Ghazali's words: '*Shari`ah* is a basis and authority is a guardian; what has no basis is doomed to decline and what has no guardian is to be lost'... Therefore, the Islamic State cannot be established except on the basis of *da`wah,* so that it can be a state of a mission, and not a mere form of management or a materialist, spiritless government. By the same token, *da`wah* cannot be established except under a program of protection that safeguards, propagates, and strengthens it."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

2. The importance of the state

Imam al-Banna viewed that the Islamic system provides happiness not only for the Muslim *Ummah* but also for humanity as a whole. In this regard, he said,

> " If we had an Islamic government, which is true in faith and independent in thinking and implementation, acknowledges the greatness of the treasure that it has and the glory of the Islamic system that it has inherited, and believes that this system contains the remedy for its people and guidance for all people, we would be encouraged to ask it to call the whole world in the name of Islam, to demand the other countries to make research on and contemplate about this religion, and to drive them towards it through persistent calling and convincing as well as proof and successive missions, in addition to other means of invitation and information. Moreover, such a government would acquire a spiritual, political, and practical stance among the other governments and would be able to revive the vitality of the people, push them towards glory and light, and incite eagerness, seriousness, and activity within their hearts."
>
> "It is ironic that there is a state that adopts Communism... that there are nations that sanctify Fascism and Nazism... and that there are strong advocators who support different social and political parties and schools, devoting their souls, thoughts, writings, property, newspapers, and efforts to them, while there is no Islamic government that fulfils the duty of calling to Islam, which contains the advantages of all these systems and is void of all their disadvantages. There is no Islamic government that introduces Islam to the

other nations as a universal system that provides an obvious, comfortable, and sound solution to all human problems, although Islam made *da`wah* an obligatory duty that all Muslims, nations and groups, must fulfil, even before these systems were created and before people knew the system of propaganda and publicity.

﴾*Let there arise out of you a group of people inviting to all that is good (Islam), enjoining Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do) and forbidding Al-Munkar (polytheism and disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden). And it is they who are the successful.*﴿ (Al `Imran: 104)"

(Under the Standard of the Qur'an)

3. The form of the state

Speaking about this, Imam al-Banna said,

"When dealing with this, Islam is not concerned with forms or names as long as these basic rules, without which government cannot be deemed correct, are fulfilled in a way that maintains balance between them and makes sure that none of them will dominate the other. This balance cannot be maintained without conscientiousness and true feeling of the sanctity of these instructions, and that maintaining and preserving them leads to success in this world and salvation in the Hereafter. This is referred to in modern terminology as "national knowledge," "political maturity," or "national education," and the like. All of this refers to one fact, that is, believing in the propriety of the system and feeling the necessity of preserving it.. This is because texts alone are

not enough for the revival of a nation, just as a law becomes useless when it is not applied by a just judge."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

4. The characteristics, duties, and rights of the state

According to the thinking of Imam al-Banna, the characteristics, duties, and rights of the state are defined as follows:

- **Its characteristics**

1. Being aware of its subjection to Islam.
2. Being kind to the subjects.
3. Applying justice among people.
4. Dealing with the public treasury faithfully.
5. Dealing with this treasury economically.

- **Its duties**

1. Maintaining general safety.
2. Executing the law.
3. Spreading education.
4. Preparing forces.
5. Preserving health.
6. Taking care of public utilities.
7. Developing the public treasury and safeguarding property.
8. Strengthening morals and propagating the call for Islam.

- **Its rights**

1. Loyalty and obedience.
2. Sacrificing both life and property.

Domestic Policies

(The Systems Organizing the Affairs of the State)

1. The conception of domestic policies

Imam al-Banna identified the conception of the domestic policies of the state, saying,

> "Let me, Brothers, talk at great length about this meaning, saying that, if policies are used with their internal meaning, that is to say they are used to refer to the missions, rights, and duties of the government and watching over rulers so that they can be obeyed if they do good and criticized if otherwise, then you should know that Islam is interested in this aspect. It has laid down rules and principles for it and has elaborated the rights of the rulers and the ruled. It has also shown the way of how to treat oppressors and the oppressed and has drawn limits for each. Islam has explored constitutions, and civil and criminal laws with their different branches; rather, it is the source of these laws and constitutions, for it has laid down their basic principles, general rules, and comprehensive objectives, and has prescribed their achievement for people, yet it has left their subsidiary parts and details to be applied according to circumstances and time, calling them to spare no effort to achieve this as long as it secures an interest for them... That

is why there is no separation between the instructions of the Qur'an and the power of the ruler, nor between the policy of government and religion, and why it is one of the duties of the Muslim to be interested in the treatment of governmental aspects just as he is concerned with the spiritual aspects. This is the Islamic attitude towards domestic policies."

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

2. The construction of the political system (system of government)

Concerning the definition of the system of government, Imam al-Banna said,

"In Islam, government is based on well known and well established bases, which represent the basic structure of the Islamic system of government. This is because it is based on: the responsibility of the ruler, unity of the nation, and respect for its will, regardless of names and forms."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

Accordingly, the Islamic political system (system of government) depends on the following bases:

1. Responsibility of the ruler.

2. Unity of the nation.

3. Respecting the will of the nation.

We will explain each base in brief, according to Imam al-Banna's thinking.

The first base: responsibility of the ruler (social contract)

Imam al-Banna stated in this regard,

"The ruler is responsible before Allah and before the people, and he is originally hired to conduct their affairs. The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) said, *'Every one of you is responsible, and every one of you will be asked about his responsibility'.* Also, once Abu Bakr (may Allah be pleased with him) said, when he mounted the pulpit after having become the Caliph, 'You people! I used to work for my children to bring them sustenance, but now I work for you, so appoint for me (a remuneration) from your public treasury'. By doing so, Abu Bakr explained "the theory of the social contract" in the best and most equitable way; rather, he set its basis, as it is a contract between the nation and the ruler who is accordingly responsible to take care of its public interests. If he does good, he will receive a remuneration, and if he does evil, he will be punished."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

He detailed the responsibility of the ruler by saying,

"As for the responsibility of the ruler, according to the Islamic system, the one responsible here is the president of the state no matter who he is. He has authority to dispose, but he should let the nation know about his disposition; if he does good, they will support him, and if he does evil, they will rectify him. Besides, Islam does not forbid that the president of the state authorizes someone else to dispose

and shoulder his presidential responsibility. This was done in many Islamic eras in the form of "ministries of authorization". Moreover, scholars of *Fiqh* hold this as permissible as long as it is in compliance with the people's interest, for public interest is the general rule in such matters. In his book *Al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyyah*, Al-Mawardi said, 'The ministry has two forms: ministry of authorization and ministry of execution...'"

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The basic principles on which the responsibility of the ruler are based can be summarized into the following points:

1. The ruler is a person employed by the nation having certain rights and duties regulated by the constitution and the law.
2. Ruling is a social contract between the nation and the ruler for watching over the former's interests.
3. The covenant between the nation and the ruler is a timed one.
4. Ruling is grounded on the principle of separation between authorities.
5. The ruler has the right to choose the ways that suit the operation of his authorities, whether by deputation, or by direct execution (or according to the dictates of the constitution).
6. The ruler practices his authority and powers in the light of the sovereignty of the law.

The second base: unity of the nation (national unity)

Imam al-Banna spoke about this base saying,

> "The Muslim *Ummah* is one entity, for brotherhood, through which Islam has gathered the hearts of the Muslims, is one of the fundamentals of belief without which it cannot be completed or achieved. However, this does not hinder freedom of expression or that a young man may offer advice to an older one or vise versa. This is customarily expressed in Islam as "offering advice" and "enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong"."

> "There should be no difference about the fundamental affairs of the Muslim *Ummah*, since the system of social life which is guaranteed by one system is Islam, and it is admitted by all its people. There is no harm in difference in subsidiary matters, nor should it cause animosity, dispute, or partisanship, which governments experience wherever it is. Yet, there should be research, investigation, consultation, and offering advice."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The third base: respecting the will of the nation (parliament)

As far as this base is concerned, Imam al-Banna maintained that the rules of the Islamic system are in harmony with the rules of the parliamentary system. He declared,

> "The scholars specialized in constitutional affairs, say that the parliamentary system rectifies the responsibility of the

ruler, power of the nation, and respect for its will. They also maintain that there is nothing that prevents the unity of the nation, and neither difference nor partisanship is a condition thereof... Accordingly, none of the rules of this parliamentary system involves anything that contradicts the Islamic rules pertaining to the system of government. By this, it is not away or different from the Islamic system."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

Accordingly, the best guarantee for respecting the will of the nation and its choices is a firmly-grounded establishment of parliamentary life, on condition that it is based on the following five principles:

1. The principle of the sovereignty of the law.
2. The principle of consultation.
3. The principle of free election.
4. The principle of representation and participation.
5. The principle of the peaceful circulation of power.

We will deal with these five principles in some detail, as follows.

The first principle: the principle of the sovereignty of the law

Imam al-Banna said about this principle,

"Law is a pliable, discretionary instrument which is used for social regulation. It is only accepted and respected in proportion to the conformity of its judgments with the

principles and rules of the higher law in the society (the constitution), and thus it becomes harmonious with the principles inculcated in the conscience of the nation."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The second principle: the principle of consultation

Imam al-Banna elaborated on this principle, saying,

"The Muslim *Ummah* has the right to watch the ruler carefully and to advise him to do what it sees as good, and he should consult it, respect its will, and accept whatever sound opinion it may offer. Allah commands rulers to do so, saying, ﴿*... and consult them in the affairs...*﴾ (Al `Imran: 159), and states that it (consultation) is a good attribute of the believers, saying, ﴿*... and who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation...*﴾ (Ash-Shura: 38). This is also mentioned in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (pbuh) and the traditions of the Rightly-guided Caliphs after him: whenever they had a matter (that required an unavailable judgement), they used to consult the Muslim scholars of personal reasoning and then they followed the correct view; rather, they used to urge them to do so. Once Abu Bakr (may Allah be pleased with him) said, 'If you see me following the truth, help me, and if you see me following falsehood, direct me (to the truth) or rectify me'. Also, `Umar ibn al-Khattab said, 'Whoever sees any crookedness in my (acts) should rectify it'."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The third principle: the principle of free elections

Imam al-Banna set the condition leading to the success of free elections saying,

> "The modern parliamentary system has arranged the way of accessing those in power through the different systems and ways of election drawn up by the scholars specialized in constitutional affairs. Islam admits this systematization as long as it leads to choosing those who are to be charged with authority. This can be achieved easily if the election system considers the qualities that should be in those who will be charged with authority and does not allow anyone who does not have them to stand for election to be a representative of the nation."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

Accordingly, in order to apply the principle of free elections fairly, the following conditions should be considered:

1. Preparing special papers for the candidates themselves.

2. Drawing limits for election propaganda.

3. Reforming the election tables.

4. Setting a severe punishment for forgery and bribery pertaining to elections.

5. Freeing the candidates from the pressure of their electors and placing public interests instead of private ones."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The fourth principle: the principle of representation and participation

Identifying those who are to be charged with authority, Imam al-Banna said,

> "As for respecting the view of the nation, and the necessity of its correct representation and participation in government, Islam does not stipulate that all its members should be asked about their opinion in every matter. This is expressed in modern terminology as "public referendum". However, according to Islam, "those in power" are sufficient to do so in normal cases, but it does not define them by their names or personalities. According to the manifest meaning of the opinions of scholars of *Fiqh* and their description of "those in power," this term applies to three categories:
>
> 1. scholars of *Fiqh* who are qualified to undertake personal reasoning (*ijtihad*) and trusted as able to give *fatwa* and deduce *shar`i* rulings,
>
> 2. those who are experienced in public affairs,
>
> 3. and those who enjoy some kind of leadership or authority among people such as the chiefs of families and heads of tribes..."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: System of Government)

The fifth principle: the principle of the circulation of power

Imam al-Banna said,

"Peaceful circulation of power is the essence of consultation and democracy and its most suitable style for solving the problem of struggle for power at all its levels. A political system will never be consultative or democratic unless it contains mechanisms that help the political group, which enjoy the advocacy of the majority of the people, to be charged with authority in order to implement the program that it has called for. This can be achieved through periodic voting, for it is only the society that should give preference to a particular trend."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

3. The construction of the economic system

Regarding this side, which is related to the construction of the state according to the revival project, Imam al-Banna said,

"Here I shall deal with "our economic position" also in detail, hoping that my words will reach attentive ears and mindful hearts that will perceive the danger and work to avoid it before it becomes out of control. Nothing can motivate souls, incite the mind, and bring pain to the feelings like a financial crisis that does not even let people obtain the necessities of life, let alone its luxuries. There is no more violent crisis than that of bread, hunger, and starvation, nor is there a need severer than that of food. The person who seeks food is not a transgressor. Once a slave-girl entered upon Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ash-Shaybani, a companion of Abu Hanifah, and said, 'Master! Our flour has run out!' 'May Allah curse you!' he said, 'You have caused me to forget forty (*fiqhi*) matters!'

There are facts that no one can deny or ignore, for example: the natural fortunes which are not utilized for the benefit of our society, the foreign exploitation of our fortunes, excessive wealth and extreme poverty, and economic confusion...between the economic systems."

"I think we cannot benefit from any of these systems, for each one of them has open disadvantages, just as it has clear advantages. Besides, they are such systems that were originally made in other countries, due to other positions and reasons, and for other communities than ours. On the other hand, we have the perfect system that leads to comprehensive reform; it is involved in the instructions of Islam, the religion of monotheism. Islam provides basic rules of economy which, if we understand and apply properly, will solve our problems and help us make use of all the advantages of these systems, avoid their disadvantages, and learn how to raise the level of living, how to secure stability for all classes, and how to find the nearest ways to a good life."

(Our Problems in the Light of the Islamic System: Economic System)

As we pinpointed in the previous chapter, the Islamic economic system is based on the following ten principles:

1. Regarding lawfully earned money as the basis of life, and the necessity to obtain it.
2. Enjoining work and procurement upon every capable person.
3. Tracing the sources of natural wealth and the necessity of benefiting from them.

4. Forbidding evil sources of procurement.

5. Bringing classes closer, to put an end to extreme wealth and grinding poverty.

6. Sanctity of the public treasury and respect for private ownership.

7. Organizing financial dealings and treating financial affairs meticulously.

8. Social solidarity.

9. The state is responsible for safeguarding this system.

10. Banning the exploitation of authority.

These principles were treated in some detail in the previous chapter when we discussed the state political program according to the revival project.

4. The construction of the social system

Referring to this significant aspect in the construction of the state, Imam al-Banna said,

> "The Qur'an contains the principles of complete social reform. It was revealed to the Prophet (pbuh) and gradually declared to the believers over time, depending on the fall of events, circumstances, and situations:
>
> ﴾... *Thus (it is sent down in parts), that We may strengthen your heart thereby. And We have revealed it to you gradually, in stages. And no example or similitude do they bring (to oppose or to find fault in you or in this Qur'an),*

but We reveal to you the truth (against that similitude or example), and the better explanation thereof. ﴾

(Al-Furqan: 32-33)

This continued for some twenty-two years until the revelation was complete, preserved within the hearts and written notes of men. Now Allah had gathered therein an explanation for everything concerning this *Ummah*."

(Between Yesterday and Today)

Correspondingly, the Islamic program of social reform, as we identified in the previous chapter, is based on the following ten principles:

1. Achieving godliness and religiosity in society.
2. Protecting general manners and strengthening social institutions.
3. Taking interest in the family (women, youth, and children).
4. Fighting against crime and corruption.
5. Reviving the *hisbah* system.
6. Establishing social justice and securing jobs and means of procurement.
7. Reforming construction and education.
8. Caring for physical health.
9. Directing media and art.
1. Organizing travel and summer resorts.

These principles were treated in some detail in the previous chapter when we discussed the state political program according to the revival project.

5. The construction of the system of *jihad*

Imam al-Banna defined this essential side in the construction of the state, saying,

> "Islam is more concerned with the question of *jihad* and the drafting and mobilization of the entire *Ummah* into one body, to defend the right cause with all its strength than any other ancient or modern system of living, whether religious or civil. The verses of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) are overflowing with all these noble ideals and they summon people in general, with the most eloquent expression and the clearest exposition, to *jihad*, to warfare, to the armed forces, and all means of land and sea fighting, under all circumstances."
>
> "My Brothers! The *Ummah* that knows how to die a noble and honorable death is granted an exalted life in this world and eternal felicity in the next. Degradation and dishonor are the results of the love of this world and the fear of death. Therefore prepare for *jihad* and love death. Life itself shall come searching after you."
>
> "You should know that some day you will face death and this ominous event can only occur once. If you suffer on this occasion in the way of Allah, it will be to your benefit in this world and your reward in the next. And, remember Brother that nothing can happen without the Will of Allah: ponder well what Allah, the Almighty, says,
>
> ﴿*Then after the distress, He sent down security for you. Slumber overtook a party of you, while another party was thinking about themselves (as how to save their ownselves,*

ignoring the others and the Prophet) and thought wrongly of Allah - the thought of ignorance. They said, 'Have we any part in the affair?' Say you (O Muhammad): 'Indeed the affair belongs wholly to Allah'. They hide within themselves what they dare not reveal to you, saying: 'If we had anything to do with the affair, none of us would have been killed here'. Say: 'Even if you had remained in your homes, those for whom death was decreed would certainly have gone forth to the place of their death,' but that Allah might test what is in your breasts; and to purge that which was in your hearts (sins), and Allah is All Knower of what is in (your) breasts. ﴾

(Al `Imran: 154)

You should yearn for an honorable death and you will gain perfect happiness. May Allah grant me and you the honor of martyrdom in His way!"

(Jihad)

Thus, domestic policies, as viewed by Imam al-Banna, include the political, economic, social, and *jihad* systems, as principal systems in the construction of the ideal state, according to the revival project.

Foreign Policy

(Foreign Relations)

1. The conception of foreign policy

The Muslim Brotherhood maintain, according to Imam al-Banna's thinking that,

> "International relations are very important in our contemporary world, as no nation can any longer live in isolation from the other nations around it, in a time when mutual dependence among countries has become a vital necessity and an effective entrance to international relations in its different aspects, cultural, economic, political, and scientific. The Organization views that Muslim and Arab countries should make more effort to improve the forms of coordination and true cooperation through strengthening political, economic, cultural, and social relations, as a means of driving our nations towards stability, development, protection of common and legal interests, and in response to the ambitions and hopes of the Muslim and Arab nations. In this regard, they can benefit from the successful experiments which took place, and are still being witnessed, in many areas all over the world.
>
> The advocates of the revival also look forward to a world where cooperation is prevalent between its nations as a

supporting foundation of love and peace. It is a world with a tolerant international community, which embodies the meanings of human brotherhood and is absorbed with the spirit of solidarity, cooperation, and mercy, and the relations between its countries are established on the basis of justice, equality of interests, respect for civilizational and cultural distinctions, and keeping international treaties and covenants."

(Al-Ikhwan and Contemporary Issues)

Explaining the conception of this policy, Imam al-Banna stated,

"What concerns me of politics is its external meaning, namely preserving the independence, freedom, honor, and glory of the nation, leading it to the glorious goals with which it can have an honorable standing among other nations, and ridding it of any foreign oppression or interference in its own affairs, along with a specification of its relation with other nations in such a way that details all its rights and directs all counties to a general international peace; this is what they call "international law". Islam is very interested in this aspect, for it has clearly shown the legal rulings concerning it and has made it obligatory on Muslims to act upon these rulings in times of peace and war. So, whoever neglects doing so is ignorant of Islam or rather has violated its instructions."

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

Imam al-Banna added,

"Islam has confirmed the mastery of the Muslim *Ummah* over the other nations in many verses of the Qur'an; for example,

﴾*You are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind; you enjoin Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam has ordained) and forbid Al-Munkar (polytheism, disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden), and you believe in Allah...*﴿

(Al `Imran: 110)

﴾*Thus We have made you a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind...*﴿

(Al-Baqarah: 143)

﴾*... But honour, power and glory belong to Allah, His Messenger (Muhammad), and to the believers, but the hypocrites know not.*﴿

(Al-Munafiqun: 8)

Islam has also assured the *Ummah*'s independence, has guided it to the way of maintaining it, and has referred to the danger of foreign interference in its affairs. We may for example read,

﴾*O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitanah (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends, etc.) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites) since they will not fail to do their best to corrupt you. They desire to harm you severely. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, but what their breasts conceal is far worse. Indeed We have made plain to you the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses) if you understand. Lo! You are the ones who love them but they love you not...*﴿

(Al `Imran: 118-119)

The Qur'an also refers to the evil effects of colonization on people in the verse that reads,

> ﴾*Verily! Kings, when they enter a town (country), they despoil it, and make the most honourable amongst its people low. And thus they do.*﴿ (An-Naml: 34)"

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

Then Imam al-Banna stressed the necessity of the nation's sovereignty and set conditions for achieving it, saying,

> "Islam has made it obligatory on the Muslim Ummah to keep this mastery, commanding it to prepare all the power it can ever have so that the truth can be maintained by the glory of authority just as it shines with the light of guidance. Allah says,
>
> ﴾*And make ready against them all you can of power...*﴿
>
> (Al-Anfal: 60)
>
> At the same time, Islam has warned against the flush of victory and ecstasy of self-satisfaction, as they violate justice and lead to oppression. Thus, it has warned Muslims against aggression in all situations. The Qur'an states,
>
> ﴾*... and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety...*﴿
>
> (Al-Ma'idah: 8)
>
> Also, we read,
>
> ﴾*Those who, if We give them power in the land, (they) order for Iqamat-as-Salat. [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational prayers, to pay the Zakah and*

they enjoin Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islam has forbidden). And with Allah rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures).﴾ (Al-Hajj: 41)"

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

Then, Imam al-Banna defined the path of *jihad* and the conditions required for the *mujahidun*. He said,

"Hence, Brothers, the righteous predecessors (may Allah be pleased with them), including those who were inclined to the mosques, those who devoted themselves to worship, and those who memorized the Qur'an, were not satisfied with the independence of their countries or with the glory and liberation of their people. They however spread throughout the earth, conquering and teaching, liberating other nations as they had been liberated, guiding them with Allah's light with which they had been guided, and directing them to the happiness of this worldly life and that of the Hereafter. In doing so, they never committed extravagance, betrayal, or aggression, nor did they ever enslave people, as they were born free."

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

Finally, Imam al-Banna presented brilliant examples of the *mujahidun* among the righteous predecessors. We read,

"`Uqbah ibn Nafi`, for example, came to the Atlantic and said, 'O Allah! If I know that there is a land beyond this sea, I will surely pass it to fight in Your way'. By the same token, one of the sons of Al-`Abbas was buried in At-Ta'if

near Makkah, another in Central Asia in the most remote part of the east, and another in Africa in the most remote part of the west, while striving for Allah's cause seeking His Pleasure. Thus, the Companions and those who followed them with goodness knew that foreign policies are an integral part of Islam."

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

Thus, the external side of the Call, i.e. its foreign relations, is based on certain principles among the most important of which are the following:

1. Preserving the independence and sovereignty of the nation.
2. Restoring the old honorable position of the nation among the other nations.
3. Ridding the nation of oppression and interference of others.
4. Defining the relationship between the nation and the other nations in such a way that defines and maintains all its rights.
5. Strengthening relations between all Muslim countries, particularly the Arab ones, as a first step towards practical thinking concerning the lost Islamic Caliphate (*Khilafah*).
6. Securing a complete guarantee for the rights of non-Muslims, whether they are international rights or national rights on the part of non-Muslim minorities. (The tracts "*Students*" and "*Towards the Light*")

2. Foreign relations

We will deal with these relations through three areas: Arabian relations, Islamic relations, and international relations.

- **Arabian relations (Arab unity)**

a. The basis of our relations

Imam al-Banna clarified the basis of our relations with the others, saying,

> "Now that you have learned all this, may Allah bless you, know that the Muslim Brotherhood regards mankind as divided into two camps vis-a-vis themselves: one, believing as they believe, in Allah's religion and His book, and in the Mission of His Prophet and what he brought with him. These are attached to us by the most hallowed of bonds, the bonds of credal doctrine, which is to us holier than the bond of blood or of soil. These are our closest "relatives" among the peoples: we feel sympathy toward them, we work on their behalf, we defend them, and we sacrifice ourselves and our wealth for them... As for other people with whom we do not yet share this bond, we will be at peace with them as long as they refrain from aggression against us. We believe, however, that a bond does exist between us and them: the bond of our Call and that it is our duty to invite them to what we adhere to because it is the best that humanity has to offer...
>
> ﴾*The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion). So make reconciliation between your brothers...*﴿
>
> (Al-Hujurat: 10)

﴾*Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion and did not drive you out of your homes. Verily, Allah loves those who deal with equity. It is only as regards those who fought against you on account of religion, and have driven you out of your homes, and helped to drive you out, that Allah forbids you to befriend them...*﴿ (Al-Mumtahanah: 8-9)"

(Our Call)

b. Arab unity

Then, Imam al-Banna spoke about the first area of our relations, that is the Arabian area, saying,

"According to Al-Ikhwan, the conception of Arabism is the same as defined by the Prophet (pbuh). *'Behold! Arabism is in the tongue. Arabism is in the tongue,'* (meaning that he who speaks Arabic is an Arab). Hence, the unity of the Arabs is necessary for the recovery of the greatness of Islam, elevation of the word of the religion, and the establishment of the state of Islam. In this way, it becomes the duty of every Muslim to revive Arabian unity and struggle to make it stable. This is the stand of the Muslim Brotherhood on the unity of the Arabs."

(The Fifth Conference)

Then he digressed, clarifying the position of the Arabs in the Call,

"Arabism too has a special place in our Call, as the Arabs were the first Islamic nation and they are the chosen community. The Prophet (pbuh) said, *'If the Arabs will*

degenerate, Islam too will degenerate.' Islam cannot be revived, unless the Arabs start to revive and become a unified force..."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

3. Islamic relations (Islamic unity)

After that, Imam al-Banna defined Islamic relations, saying,

"As regards our stance on Islamic unity, we can say that just as Islam is a faith and worship, it is also nationhood. All racial or ancestral distinctions except this are false. Allah the Sublime says, ﴿*The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion)...*﴾ (Al-Hujurat: 10) Also, the Prophet (pbuh) said, '*A Muslim is the brother of a Muslim.*' Therefore, all Muslims are brethren. The life of each one of them must be respected equally. Even if a Muslim with a subordinate position gives refuge to somebody, it shall be respected; and all shall be one against the enemies.

Remember that Islam neither admits geographical differences, nor gives any importance to racial or blood distinctions. It regards all Muslims as members of one *ummah* (nation or community) and takes all Muslim countries as one nation, although there may be great distances between them. Therefore, Al-Ikhwan respect this unity, believe in this relationship, and struggle for the unity of the Muslims and elevation of Islamic brotherhood. They regard every land on which there lives a Muslim and recites the *kalimah* 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah' as their nation.

Some people say that this view is absolutely contrary to the present day prejudice of race and color, which is prevalent throughout the world. They say that today the world is being carried by the tide of racism. How will you stand against this flood? How will you go against all the people?

The answer to this question is that people are mistaken and the results of these mistakes can be reflected in the dissatisfaction of the nations and their related destruction. It is not the duty of a physician to agree with the patients; rather, his duty is to treat them and show them the correct path. This, too, is the work of Islam and one who invites towards Islam.

Some other people say that this is simply not possible. Such an effort would be wasteful and meaningless and would be of no material benefit and that the people who struggle in this way, should struggle for their nations and give the benefit of their services particularly to their country.

I shall say that this is an expression of sheer weakness and shows lack of courage. After all, these nations were previously scattered and differed in many aspects. Their religion was different, their language was different and so were their sentiments, feelings, aspirations, and causes of grief. Islam came and united their hearts by means of the sacred *kalimah*. Therefore, if any Muslim bears the responsibility of uniting the Muslims and struggles for the revival of the religion in the souls of the Muslims, then the Muslim nations will unite around Islam as they did before.

It is easier to work towards this aim today because to repeat something is easier than to create it for the first time."

(The Fifth Conference)

The words of Imam al-Banna show how deeply he believed in Arab unity and that this unity was easier to achieve under the new position than under the old one.

4. International relations (international community)

Imam al-Banna ascertained the fact that globalism is the greatest aim of the Call. He stated,

"As for globalism, it is our highest objective and greatest aim - the last link in the chain of reform, and the world is moving towards this. The only way forward is by joining together all nations, races, and communities. This should include the weak who would then have the opportunity to become strong; this interaction will improve the chances of a long lasting unity. All this will prepare the grounds for this universal Call and will put into perspective the ideas of nationalism and patriotism, which mankind have been staunch believers in before. In the beginning it was necessary to believe in racial and nationalistic ideals. However it was necessary to discard such ideals in order to be accepted as part of a much larger community. In order to fulfil this complete and universal unity, we must realize that it is something that will surely come about, although slowly, with the advent of time. Therefore, we must make it a part of our target, placing it in front of our eyes; we must

commence with the construction of humanity, one brick at a time; and we are not responsible to complete the construction, for every deadline has its Divine decree."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Then, he referred to the harsh, negative effects of national fanaticism that Islam remedies with cooperation and fraternity. He said,

"Today we find a great number of associations and organizations that are built on the principles of national fanaticism, attracting the hearts of the people and moving in them narrow-minded sentiments of the one and only nation. This attitude brings about many lessons which are so painful and harsh that mankind should take refuge in religious guidance and return to the path of brotherhood and mutual cooperation. Islam has already set out this path. First of all it established a universal belief, then, a universal system and mode of work. Thus it became plain for all to see its just and noble sides in all aspects of human life."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Finally, Imam al-Banna elucidated the bases of Islamic cooperation and brotherhood that should be inculcated between nations. He remarked,

"Accordingly the Lord of mankind is One. The origin of this religion is one. The Prophets are all respected and honorable. All the sacred scriptures are from Allah, and their purpose is to unify the hearts of the believers. ﴾*He (Allah) has ordained for you the same religion (Islam) which He ordained for Nuh (Noah), and that which We*

have inspired in you (O Muhammad), and that which We ordained for Ibrahim (Abraham), Musa (Moses") and 'Isa (Jesus) saying you should establish religion (i.e. to do what it orders you to do practically), and make no divisions in it (religion) (i.e. various sects in religion)... ﴾ (Ash-Shura: 13)"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

5. A New world order

Imam al-Banna numerated statements delivered by contemporary leaders about the new world order. He said,

"All politicians repeat the phrase "the new order".. Hitler wants to offer a new order to people, Churchill says that the victorious England will oblige people to follow a new order, Roosevelt prophesies and praises this new order, and everybody is alluding to the idea that this new order will regulate Europe and restore safety, tranquility, and peace to it. So what is the position of the East and Muslims to this prospective order?"

(The Sixth Conference)

These statements did not bear anything positive, for they expressed nothing but colonialist objectives, and thus their result would be failure. In this connection Imam al-Banna stated,

"Here I want to seize the attention of Western politicians to the fact that, if the colonialist idea failed in the past, it will surly meet more failure in the future, as people's feelings have awakened and their perceptions have risen. The policy of coercion, pressure, and tyranny that was applied in the past only brought results adverse to those which were

expected from it. It failed to control people and their hearts and it will be more incapacitated in the future.. The policy of deceit, cunning, and political elasticity will soon storm violently, even though the atmosphere is quiet for some time. Besides, this policy will reveal many mistakes, problems, and disputes and in the future it will be too weak to lead to the prospective goals."

(The Sixth Conference)

Agreeably, Imam al-Banna reached a logical conclusion: the necessity of the existence of a new policy that would help guide the Muslim world to peace and prosperity. He said,

"Thus there should be a new policy, namely a policy of true cooperation and faithful alliance which is based on fraternity, appreciation, and exchange of benefits as well as material and literary interests among the members of the human family in the East and the West, not only among the Europeans. Only with this policy will the new order settle and spread safety and peace."

"The time of tyrannical and oppressive systems of government has come to an end... We present these theories to the European and French politicians as well as to other politicians of the colonialist countries as pieces of advice, which may benefit them, rather than demands that may benefit us. So they can either take or leave them. We are determined to live free and great, or die pure and honorable."

(The Sixth Conference)

Imam al-Banna stressed that those new bases were sufficient to achieve real peace and cooperation, then he stressed that Western attempts would lead to nothing but failure. He declared,

"On these bases will the world gain honorable cooperation and prolonged peace. As for the song of democracy and dictatorship, it is a chant which we believe that the present war will add to it new maladies and tones. After this tribulation, the world will not witness democracy like that which people used to see, or dictatorship like that which they used to know, nor will there be Fascism or Communism after the pattern of ordinary positions. Yet, there will be systems of government and sociological styles that will be originated by war and created by politicians, who will then put them to experimentation once again.. This is one of the ways of Allah and the systems of society."

(The Sixth Conference)

Finally, he announced that Islam is the only way to help humanity get out of its adversities, saying,

"How glorious it will be that these politicians will then be guided with the light of Allah, drive hateful fanaticism away from their hearts, and take Islam, the religion of monotheism that contains the best of all things, as a basis for their political, civil, and social systems, and thus achieve spiritual, human unity, which they have been deprived of for a long time and which cannot be achieved except by the tolerance and guidance of Islam. ﴿*Indeed, there has come to you from Allah a light (Prophet Muhammad) and a plain*

Book (this Qur'an) wherewith Allah guides all those who seek His Good Pleasure to ways of peace, and He brings them out of darkness by His Will unto light and guides them to a Straight Way (Islamic Monotheism). ﴿ (Al-Ma'idah: 15-16)"

(The Sixth Conference)

Thus, Imam al-Banna confirmed that the essence of foreign relations in its human, guiding form resides in the full adoption of Islam as the basis of political, social, and economic systems in all fields and on all levels, local, Arab, Islamic, and international.

Chapter Five

The Civilizational Aspect of the State

- Rebuilding the International Entity of the Muslim *Ummah*
- Achieving Mastery Over the World and Civilizational Rectification

The Conception of Civilization

The human ideal: the essence of civilization

In its general conception, civilization represents any human experience that has achieved a human ideal of life in all its aspects and dimensions, and is seeking to introduce it to the others so that they may follow it on the basis that it is the human ideal which is the most worthy to be followed. The establishment of any society requires a set of values, criteria, beliefs, ideas, and manners, along with a set of inventions, institutions, architecture, arts, methods of production, and means of livelihood. When a society has these two sets, it means it has achieved some kind of construction and population on earth. Yet this does not mean civilization, for a mere establishment of population gives nothing more than existence, as in the case of China. This is because population should be coupled with the introduction of a human ideal that humanity can follow, that is to say, a form of relationship with human beings, as well as with the universe and things that Allah has made subservient to man in it.

The political dimensions of civilization

When the conception of civilization is not given any good value, this may mean that civilization is bad or destructive, but this does not prevent calling it "civilization" as long as the following dimensions have been achieved:

1. The existence of a credal system that determines the nature of the relation with the world of the unseen and the conceptions of "God" negatively or positively.
2. The existence of a behavioral ideological construction in society that formulates common values, manners, and conventions.
3. The existence of a material pattern formulating inventions, machinery, institutions, systems, architecture, arts, and all material dimensions of life.
4. Definition of the form of relation with the universe, things that Allah has made subservient to man in it, and the rules of dealing with these things and their value.
5. Definition of the form of relation with others, i.e. the other human societies, the bases and rules of dealing with them, and the way to convince them of this ideal and the aim of this convincing.

Hence, we will be able to define and evaluate the human experiments as long as they have carried through the conception of civilization, that is to say, they have crossed the conception of mere existence into that of effectiveness. Accordingly, if we are to describe Western civilization or know about its nature, we have to study its position with regard to these dimensions, and thus we will come to correctly judge whether its human ideal, which it is presenting to humanity, is suitable to be followed or not. The same way can be applied to any other human experiment. It has now become obvious that it is logically impossible that one civilization of multiple branches can exist unless it is the best human ideal that drives all nations to leave

their heritage and ideals and adopt it. Also, competition between civilizations, i.e. differences between civilizations, is a logical matter enjoined by human existence and its input. This is because difference is one of Allah's norms and signs in the universe; He (Glory be to Him) states,

﴾*And among His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the difference of your languages and colours...*﴿

(Ar-Rum: 22)

Rebuilding the International Entity of the Muslim *Ummah*

1. Rebuilding the Islamic Caliphate (*Khilafah*)

• Conditions of the rebuilding

As part of the construction of the ideal state, Imam al-Banna stated that this would be accomplished by liberating the Islamic lands. He said,

> "... and rebuilding the international prominence of the Islamic *Ummah* by liberating its lands, reviving its glorious past, bringing closer the cultures of its regions, and rallying under one word, until once again the long awaited unity and the lost *Khilafah* (caliphate) are returned, and until we re-master the world by spreading Islam all over it: ﴿*... until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism: i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone [in the whole of the world]...*﴾ (Al-Anfal: 39) ﴿*... but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be perfected...*﴾ (At-Tawbah: 32)."

(The Teachings)

• The conception of the Islamic Caliphate

Clarifying the conception of the Islamic Caliphate more definitely, Imam al-Banna said,

"The Muslim Brothers regard the *Khilafah* as the symbol of Islamic unity and a sign of the bond between the various Muslim nations. They believe that it is a religious duty on every Muslim to think about the *khilafah* and to be concerned about its return. There are many rules of the religion of Allah that are fulfilled by the *khalifah* (Muslim Caliph). This was the reason why before the burial of the Prophet (pbuh), the honored Companions (may Allah be pleased with them) were so anxious about the matter that they did not consent to the burial of the Messenger until the issue of the *khalifah* had been resolved...

For this reason, Al-Ikhwan have given top priority to the revival of the *khilafah*. They are conscious that they will have to make many preparations before the last step for the return of the *khilafah* is taken."

(The Fifth Conference)

Accordingly, Imam al-Banna viewed that the conception of the caliphate refers to the following:

1. *Khilafah* is the symbol of Islamic unity.
2. It is a sign of the bond between the various Muslim nations.
3. It is a religious duty that every Muslim should think about.
4. There are many rules of the religion of Allah which are fulfilled by the *Khalifah* (Muslim Caliph).

- **Practical steps for rebuilding the Caliphate**

Imam al-Banna opined that in order for Muslims to rebuild the Islamic Caliphate, certain practical procedures should be considered. He said,

"It is essential that there should be a complete economic, social, and cultural co-operation amongst all the Muslim nations and groups. Thereafter, political pacts and agreements should be concluded between them and meetings and conferences should be held... Then, the formulation of a League of Muslim Nations would be easy to accomplish. After all this, it would be possible to agree on an "Imam," who would be the main jewel in the crown of Islam, the cementing force for joining the Islamic nations; beloved by the people..."

(The Fifth Conference)

Accordingly, the requirements of the *Khilafah* are represented, according to Imam al-Banna's thinking, by the following:

1. Cultural cooperation.
2. Social cooperation.
3. Economic cooperation.
4. Concluding political pacts and agreements.
5. Holding meetings and conferences.
6. Formulating a League of Muslim Nations.
7. Electing an Imam.

2. About the new world order

• The conception of globalism, the last link in the chain of the civilizational project

Imam al-Banna placed "globalism" as the highest objective with which complete unity can be fulfilled. He stated,

"As for globalism, it is our highest objective and greatest aim - the last link in the chain of reform, and the world is moving towards this. The only way forward is by joining together all nations, races, and communities. This should include the weak who would then have the opportunity to become strong; this interaction will improve the chances of a long lasting unity. All this will prepare the grounds for this universal Call and will put into perspective the ideas of nationalism and patriotism, which mankind have been staunch believers in before. In the beginning it was necessary to believe in racial and nationalistic ideals. However it was necessary to discard such ideals in order to be accepted as part of a much larger community. In order to fulfil this complete and universal unity, we must realize that it is something that will surely come about, although slowly, with the advent of time. Therefore, we must make it a part of our target, placing it in front of our eyes; we must commence with the construction of humanity, one brick at a time; and we are not responsible to complete the construction, for every deadline has its Divine decree."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

• The nine bases of the conception of globalism and the world order

1. The main characteristic of the Call is its being universal.
2. Achieving universal brotherhood.
3. Contributing to international peace and constructing a new life.
4. Respecting international law in peace and war.

5. Promising to insure international rights.

6. Safeguarding treaties and fulfilling obligations.

7. Spreading righteousness and beneficence among people no matter what their beliefs are.

8. Prohibiting racism and bigotry.

9. Adopting the policy of cooperation and true alliance.

We will deal with each of these bases in some detail according to Imam al-Banna's thinking, as follows:

1. The main characteristic of the Call is its being universal

Imam al-Banna confirmed this basis saying,

> "The message is universal, because it is directed towards the whole of mankind, and mankind in its view is one brotherhood: their origin is one, their father is one, and their descent is one. They have no preference over one another except by the extent of being dutiful to (and conscious of) Allah and the contribution they make of good and benefit to all humanity. Allah, the Almighty says, ﴾*O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife [Hawwa' (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women and fear Allah through Whom you demand your mutual (rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allah is Ever an All Watcher over you.*﴿ (An-Nisa': 1)"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

2. Achieving universal brotherhood

Referring to this basis, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Islam, the religion of monotheism, came to establish for the world the most just principles and the most right laws, and to elevate the human soul and sanctify universal brotherhood.."

(Districts)

3. Contributing to international peace and constructing a new life

Defining the universal goal of the Call, Imam al-Banna stated,

> "It is part of your Call, dear Brothers, that you contribute to achieving international peace, as well as to constructing a new life for people by showing them the advantages, principles, and instructions of your religion, especially after the long thirst which they are suffering from due to their hard, materialist, and mechanical life."

(Districts)

4. Respecting international law in peace and war

Imam al-Banna said about this basis,

> "Foreign policy from the Islamic perspective... is (represented in) directing all counties to general international peace; this is what they call "international law". Islam is very interested in this aspect, for it has clearly shown the legal rulings concerning it and has made it obligatory on Muslims to act upon these rulings in times of

peace and war. So, whoever neglects doing so is ignorant of Islam or rather has violated its instructions."

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

5. Promising to insure international rights

Imam al-Banna said about insuring the rights of others,

"Islamic policies, whether foreign or domestic, completely guarantee the rights of non-Muslims, whether they are international rights or national rights of non-Muslim minorities. This is because the honor of Islam is the most sacred honor that history has ever witnessed. Allah, Glorified and Exalted be He, states,

﴾*If you (O Muhammad) fear treachery from any people throw back (their covenant) to them (so as to be) on equal terms (that there will be no more covenant between you and them). Certainly Allah likes not the treacherous.*﴿

(Al-Anfal: 58)

﴾*Except those of the Mushrikun (polytheists) with whom you have a treaty, and who have not subsequently failed you in naught, nor have supported anyone against you. So fulfill their treaty to them to the end of their term. Surely Allah loves Al-Muttaqun (the pious).*﴿

(At-Tawbah: 4)

﴾*But if they incline to peace, you also incline to it, and (put your) trust in Allah. Verily, He is the All-Hearer, the All-Knower.*﴿ (Al-Anfal: 61)"

(The Muslim Brotherhood Student Conference)

6. Safeguarding treaties and fulfilling obligations

Imam al-Banna said,

"It is up to all the leaders of these nations to understand that the status of international Islam is the most sacred status known in history, and that it has laid down the most firm and solid principles to guard and preserve this status.

It is Islam that speaks about safeguarding treaties and fulfilling its obligation. Allah, the Almighty says,

﴿... *And fulfil (every) covenant. Verily! The covenant, will be questioned about.*﴾

(Al-Isra': 34)

And He says,

﴿*Except those of the Mushrikun (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah) with whom you have a treaty, and who have not subsequently failed you in naught, nor have supported anyone against you. So fulfill their treaty to them to the end of their term. Surely Allah loves Al- Muttaqun (the pious).*﴾

(At-Tawbah: 4)

And He says,

﴿*And if anyone of the Mushrikun seeks your protection then grant him protection, so that he may hear the Word of Allah (the Qur'an), and then escort him to where he can be secure...*﴾ (At-Tawbah: 6)"

(Towards the Light)

7. Spreading righteousness and beneficence among people no matter what their beliefs are

Imam al-Banna said,

"Whoever thinks that Al-Ikhwan call for any racial discrimination between the classes of the *Ummah* is wrong. We do know that Islam is very interested in confirming respect for the human bond between all mankind. For example, we read in the Qur'an,

﴿*O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another...*﴾

(Al-Hujurat: 13)

Moreover, Islam has forbidden aggression even in cases of anger and dispute. Allah, the Almighty says,

﴿*... and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety...*﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 8)

﴿*Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion and did not drive you out of your homes..*﴾*(Al-Mumtahanah: 8)"*

(To Youths)

8. Prohibiting racism and bigotry

Imam al-Banna said about this basis,

"We do not believe in gender racism, nor do we encourage color racism, yet we call for impartial brotherhood between humanity."

(To Youths)

9. Adopting the policy of cooperation and true alliance

Imam al-Banna said,

> "Thus there should be a new policy, namely a policy of true cooperation and faithful alliance which is based on fraternity and appreciation..."

(The Sixth Conference)

- **The Western conception of globalism and the new world order**

Imam al-Banna mentioned statements delivered by contemporary politicians concerning the conception of the new world order. He said,

> "All politicians repeat the phrase "the new order". Hitler wants to offer a new order to people, Churchill says that the victorious England will oblige people to follow a new order, Roosevelt prophesies and praises this new order, and everybody is alluding to the idea that this new order will regulate Europe and restore safety, tranquility, and peace to it. But what is the position of the East and Muslims to this prospective order? Here I want to attract the attention of Western politicians to the fact that, if the colonialist idea failed in the past, it will surly meet more failure in the future, as people's feelings have awakened and their perceptions have risen. The policy of coercion, pressure, and tyranny that was applied in the past only brought results adverse to those which were expected from it. It failed to control people and their hearts and it will be more incapacitated in the future.. The policy of deceit, cunning, and political elasticity will soon storm violently, even

> though the atmosphere is quiet for some time. Besides, this policy will reveal many mistakes, problems, and disputes and in the future it will be too weak to lead to the prospective goals."

(The Sixth Conference)

• The prospective equitable bases of the new world order

Finally, Imam al-Banna elucidated the equitable bases of the Islamic new world order. He said,

> "Thus there should be a new policy, namely a policy of true cooperation and faithful alliance which is based on fraternity, appreciation, and exchange of benefits and material and literary interests among the members of the human family in the East and the West, not only among the Europeans. Only with this policy will the new order settle and spread safety and peace."

(The Sixth Conference)

Achieving Mastery Over the World and Civilizational Rectification

1. Achieving mastery

- **Mastery is a degree and a link in our project**

Imam al-Banna defined mastery as a link in the civilizational project, saying,

> "Islam along with this, entrusts the Muslim *Ummah* with Allah's Message on His earth. By virtue of this trust, the Muslim *Ummah* has the degree of mastership over the world, so it is not allowed to humiliate itself for anyone, or to become soft before anyone who may defame it, or to submit to any usurper."

(Our Interior Problems in the Light of Islamic System)

- **Reviving our civilization and preserving our civilizational identity**

Speaking about the necessity of civilizational reviving, Imam al-Banna said,

> "Circumstances have led us to be raised among this generation where nations struggle violently against one another for survival and where victory always goes to the stronger. Circumstances have also led us to face the bitter results of the deficiencies that we have inherited from the

past, to provide the remedy for them, to rescue ourselves and our children, to restore our glory, and to revive our civilization and the instructions of our religion"

(Are We Practical People?)

Ascertaining this reviving, Imam al-Banna described the people of the Call as reformers. He said,

"I would like that you realize who you are in this age; the position of your Call among the other calls; the nature of your Organization; and for what purpose Allah has gathered you together, unified your hearts and objectives, and allowed your idea to appear at this hard time when the whole world is yearning for peace and salvation. Remember well, Brothers, that you are the reformers, who reform when people turn mischievous; that you are the new mind with which Allah wants to separate for people between truth and falsehood... ﴿... *And Allah has full power and control over His Affairs...*﴾ (Yusuf: 21)"

(The Sixth Conference)

He described the East as a source of light for civilization and culture, and the domain of the Prophetic revelations, saying,

"The East, which was labeled as the war-monger, has been a source of light for civilization and culture, and the domain of Prophetic revelations. All this far exceeds anything the West has ever been able to offer. Only he who is overcome with pride and ignorance will question this. Such false imagery stems from the self-deceptions of arrogant and disorientated men. It is evident that such thoughts and ideas cannot be based on the principles of (true) civilization."

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Thus, Imam al-Banna confirmed the fact that the mastery of the Muslim *Ummah* depends on its being Muslim, a fact that makes the adherents of this religion the bearers of the new ideology with which Allah will separate between truth and falsehood.

2. Preparing for civilizational rectification

• The norm of rectification

The norm of rectification, i.e. rectification of falsehood through truth, is one of Allah's norms. He says,

> ﴿*... And if Allah did not check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief...*﴾
>
> (Al-Baqarah: 251)

> ﴿*... for had it not been that Allah checks one set of people by means of another, monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, wherein the Name of Allah is mentioned much would surely have been pulled down...*﴾
>
> (Al-Hajj: 40)

> ﴿*... thus does Allah (by parables) show forth truth and falsehood. Then, as for the foam it passes away as scum upon the banks, while that which is for the good of mankind remains in the earth...*﴾
>
> (Ar-Ra`d: 17)

> ﴿*... And they will never cease fighting you until they turn you back from your religion (Islamic Monotheism) if they can...*﴾
>
> (Al-Baqarah: 217)

﴿... *And Allah wipes out falsehood, and establishes the truth (Islam) by His Word (this Qur'an)...*﴾

(Ash-Shura: 24)

﴿*Nay, We fling (send down) the truth (this Qur'an) against the falsehood (disbelief), so it destroys it, and behold, it (falsehood) is vanished...*﴾

(Al-Anbiya': 18)

Perhaps it is important to note here, that civilizational struggle or rectification is one of Allah's social norms and laws which are unchangeable. It is also an individual norm, in that man, as an individual, is not outside the circle of self-rectification and self-struggle in his choosing between right and wrong. Thus struggle and rectification are means to vitality, growth, development, and continuation, and they are from among the social motives of life and expansion of human history. This rectifying struggle takes on various forms, as it can be observed through interlocution, debating, fighting, confrontation, competition, racing, and so on. Some of these forms are legalized and controlled by regulations which have not been set by man, and some others are used through illegal means. This is all involved in the circle of civilizational struggle, and struggle between good and evil, justice and injustice, love and hatred, forgiveness and revenge, egoism and altruism, truth and falsehood; in other words, it is the struggle between right and wrong that ceases only when life ceases.

Whoever understands the norm of rectification, its fields, weapons, and ways, is able to make use of it and is granted the ability to carry on under all circumstances.

- **Preparing for the struggle**

Here Imam al-Banna ascertained this rectification, saying,

> "A nation which is surrounded by circumstances like those by which we are surrounded, which seeks to fulfil a mission like our mission, and which faces duties like those which we face, will gain no benefit if it seeks a way out through temporary remedies or through hopes and wishes. Instead, such a nation must prepare itself for a prolonged and violent struggle between truth and falsehood..."

(Are We Practical People?)

- **The result of rectification**

Then Imam al-Banna concluded with an Islamic fact and a belief-backed result, saying,

> "They were convinced with the idea that as long as they remained firm believers in this truth, they would be amongst the honorable and the valiant. If people rejected them, then surely Allah would be with them, helping them, guiding them, giving them victory, aiding them, and supporting them. If they were attacked He would defend them. He was with them wherever they were. If the armies of this world would not arise with them, then support from the Heavens would descend upon them. This is what they clearly understood when they read the Book of Allah:
>
> ﴿*... Verily, the earth is Allah's. He gives it as a heritage to whom He will of His slaves, and the (blessed) end is for the Muttaqun (pious)'.*﴾

(Al-A`raf: 128)

﴿And indeed We have written in Zabur (Psalms) [i.e. all the revealed Holy Books the Tawrah (Torah), the Injil (Gospel), the Qur'an] after (We have already written in) Al-Lawh Al-Mahfuz (the Book, that is in the heaven with Allah), that My righteous slaves shall inherit the land (i.e. the land of Paradise).﴾

(Al-Anbiya': 105)

﴿... Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty.﴾

(Al-Hajj: 40)

﴿Allah has decreed: 'Verily! It is I and My Messengers who shall be the victorious'...﴾

(Al-Mujadalah: 21)

﴿... And Allah has full power and control over His Affairs, but most of men know not.﴾

(Yusuf: 21)

﴿(Remember) when your Lord inspired the angels, 'Verily, I am with you, so keep firm those who have believed...'﴾

(Al-Anfal: 12)

﴿... and it was due from Us to aid those who believed.﴾

(Ar-Rum: 47)

﴿We wished to do a favour to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land...﴾ (Al-Qasas: 5)"

(Our Call in a New Phase)

Thus, Imam al-Banna stressed the norm of civilizational rectification, and the fact that victory will finally be on the part of truth, for Allah has full power and control over His affairs; but most among mankind do not know it.

Conclusion

I find no better way to conclude this work than with the tract *The Muslim Brotherhood Under the Standard of the Qur'an*. It is a speech directed to the Muslim youths who want to quench their thirst of bringing back the old glory, to the Muslim *Ummah* that is on a crossroads, to the inheritors of sacrifice that brought about grandeur for Muslims, and to every Muslim who believes in the mastery of Islam in this worldly life and eternal happiness in the Hereafter.

Imam al-Banna's Speech

"This is a message from the strong, flaming past to the young, confused present, represented by youths, who are a means of the seething present onto a brilliant future. O youths! O you who are wandering through life, yearning to support the religion of Allah! O you who are ready to offer your souls in sacrifice! Here is guidance, wisdom, the joy of sacrifice, and the pleasure of jihad. So hurry up and join our battalion to work together under the standard of the master of Prophets (pbuh) through the camp of Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun ﴿*... until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism: i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone...*﴾.

In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful. Praise be to Allah and blessings and peace be upon Prophet Muhammad and on his family and Companions! I greet you with the greeting of Islam, a greeting from Allah blessed and good: peace and Allah's mercy and blessings be upon you.

O Muslim Brothers! O all people!

In this clamor caused by the numerous bitter events which take place every night, and amongst this large number of calls which are spread all over the earth and equipped with many deceiving expectations, promises, and appearances, in this atmosphere we, Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, introduce our Call. This Call is quiet but stronger than stormy whirlwinds; humble but higher than towering mountains; restricted but wider than the borders of all countries; void of false appearances but surrounded by the glory of truth, the splendor of Revelation, and the help of Allah; free of greed, vain desires, personal goals, and individual interests but secures mastery in this world and Paradise in the Hereafter for those who believe in it and work faithfully in its cause.

In the light of the first call

O Muslim Brothers! O all people!

Listen to this loud call, which was directed to the first caller (pbuh):

> ﴾*O you (Muhammad) enveloped (in garments)! Arise and warn! And your Lord (Allah) magnify!*﴿
>
> (Al-Muddaththir: 1-3)

Listen to it along with the Divine order:

> ﴿*Therefore proclaim openly (Allah's Message, Islamic Monotheism) that which you are commanded, and turn away from Al-Mushrikun (polytheists, idolaters, and disbelievers).*﴾
>
> (Al-Hijr: 94)

Listen to the Revelation which exclaims addressing all people:

> ﴿*... O mankind! Verily, I am sent to you all as the Messenger of Allah - to Whom belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth. La ilaha illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He); It is He Who gives life and causes death. So believe in Allah and His Messenger, the Prophet who can neither read nor write (i.e. Muhammad) who believes in Allah and His Words, and follow him so that you may be guided.*﴾
>
> (Al-A`raf: 158)

Where are we from the instructions of Islam?

O Muslim Brothers! O all people!

Surely Allah sent you a leader, laid down a system for you, detailed rulings, revealed a Book, made certain things lawful for you, forbade you from certain things, guided you to things which bring you good and happiness, and showed you the Straight Path. So, have you followed His leader, respected His system, fulfilled His rulings, sanctified His Book, made lawful what He made lawful for you, and prohibited what He forbade?

Answer these questions frankly, and you will clearly touch the truth and reality: all the systems that you apply in your

affairs of life are mere traditional systems that do not have any connection with Islam, nor do they derive anything from it nor depend on it in any way. This applies to the interior system of government, the system of international relations, the system of jurisdiction, the system of defense and military service, the system of finance and economy for the state and individuals, the system of culture and education, the system of families and homes, and the system of the individual's personal conduct. The general spirit that supervises both the rulers and the ruled and forms the different aspects of life is faraway from Islam and its instructions. What is left beyond this?

There are many towering mosques which are populated by poor and disabled people, who perform therein prayers which are mostly void of the meanings of spirituality and submission to Allah. Even the yearly days of fasting have become days of unemployment, food, and drink, and during this period only the souls of a very few people may be purified. ﴿*... except those who believe and do righteous good deeds, and they are few...*﴾ (Sad: 24) There are many deceiving appearances of rosaries, garments, beards, rituals, rites, and words.

Is this Islam which Allah wanted to represent His most supreme Mercy and greatest gift for all the worlds? Is this the guidance of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) with which he wanted to take people from the darkness of disbelief to the light of belief? Is this the legislation of the Qur'an which treated the diseases and problems of many nations, and has laid down the most accurate rules and best established principles of reform?

The trend of imitating the West

O Muslim Brothers! O all people!

We have to admit that a strong, overwhelming trend has overcome people's minds due to the conceit of the nation of Islam and their indulgence in worldly luxuries and pleasures. Thus, principles and calls have arisen, and systems and philosophies have appeared, and civilizations and cultures have been established. They are all competing against the idea of Islam within the souls of its people, invading its nations on their own ground, and surrounding them everywhere. Not only have they invaded their countries and homes, but they have also occupied their hearts, minds, and feelings, in a suitable atmosphere which is full of all means of seduction, power, and supervision that has never been available before. They have wholly overwhelmed some Muslim countries, and have deceived some states which were purely Islamic. Even the remaining parts have been so badly effected that a new generation has arisen in the Muslim *Ummah*. This generation, that lived through two epochs, is far away from the true Islam and is charged with authority to undertake the affairs of the *Ummah*, holding its ideological, spiritual, political, and executive leadership. Having these privileges, this generation has led nations to what it planned to lead them to before, without advance notice so they are not aware of what is being done to them or where they are driven. In addition to this many callers have raised their voice with the evil idea: rid us of what remains of Islam and its effects; accept with us, satisfactorily and not by coercion, the requirements, costs, ideas, and appearances of this life; cast the rest of the worn idea away from your heads and souls; and do not be such deceivers,

hypocrites, and opponents who follow in the footsteps of Westerners but whose speech is like that of Muslims!

We have to admit that we have gone far away from Islamic guidance, principles, and rules. Islam does not forbid us from excerpting what is beneficial or from acquiring knowledge wherever we find it, yet it refuses that we imitate non-Muslims in everything, neglecting Islamic beliefs, obligations, limits, and rulings.

It is a fact that we are witnessing progress in science, art, and thinking, that money has increased, and that many means of prosperity and luxury have become widely available; but has any of these concessions brought about happiness for people? Have their souls acquired any quietness or tranquility from this prosperous life?

Can they now sleep peacefully? Have their eyes stopped weeping? Has crime been stopped and there are no longer any criminals? Have the poor become independent and have they satisfied their hunger with innumerable sums of money? Have the numerous and widespread amusement centers consoled the grieved? Are nations now safe from the aggression and oppression of invaders and assailants? None of this has happened, so what is the virtue of this civilization over other civilizations?

Is it not a fact that these systems, instructions, and philosophies even in sciences and numbers are destroying one another and people have nothing at the end but failure and disappointment, in spite of long experimentation and great sacrifices?

Our Mission

So what is the mission of Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun?

Our mission in general is to stand in the face of this overwhelming trend of materialistic modernism and the culture of pleasure and lusts which has drawn the Muslim nations away from the leadership of the Prophet (pbuh) and guidance of the Qur'an, has deprived the world of its light, and has delayed its progress for hundreds of years. We should fight against this trend until we remove it from our land and rid our people of its tribulations. Our mission is not restricted to this extent, as we will also trace it in its land and invade it on its own ground until the whole world exclaims with the name of the Prophet (pbuh), until all people have faith in the instructions of the Qur'an, and until Islam spreads over every inch of the earth. By then, Muslims will have achieved their blessed goals and there will be no more disbelief or polytheism and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone.

> ﴿*... The decision of the matter, before and after is only with Allah. And on that Day, the believers will rejoice with the help of Allah, He helps whom He wills, and He is the All Mighty, the Most Merciful.*﴾

(Ar-Rum: 4-5)

As for our mission in detail, it is to establish the following, first in Egypt because it is ahead of the Muslim countries, then in the other countries:

- an interior system of government which applies the Divine command:

﴿*And so judge (you O Muhammad) between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they turn you (O Muhammad) far away from some of that which Allah has sent down to you...*﴾

(Al-Ma'idah: 49)

- a system for international relations which applies the Divine command:

﴿*Thus We have made you a Wasat (just) (and the best) nation, that you be witnesses over mankind and the Messenger (Muhammad) be a witness over you...*﴾

(Al-Baqarah: 143)

- a practical system of jurisdiction derived from the Qur'anic verse:

﴿*But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.*﴾

(An-Nisa': 65)

- a system of defense and military service which fulfils the meaning of the general "marching forth":

﴿*March forth, whether you are light (being healthy, young and wealthy) or heavy (being ill, old and poor), strive hard with your wealth and your lives in the Cause of Allah...*﴾

(At-Tawbah: 41)

- an independent, economic system of public treasury for the state and individuals, which is based on the Divine instruction:

﴾*And give not unto the foolish your property which Allah has made a means of support for you...*﴿

(An-Nisa': 5)

- a system for culture and education, which puts an end to ignorance and complies with the glory of the first Qur'anic verse:

﴾*Read! In the Name of your Lord, Who has created (all that exists).*﴿

(Al-`Alaq: 1)

- a system for families and homes, which secures an Islamic way of raising and education for Muslim children, youths, and adults, male and female, and executes Allah's command:

﴾*O you who believe! Ward off from yourselves and your families a Fire (Hell) whose fuel is men and stones...*﴿

(At-Tahrim: 6)

- a system for the personal conduct of individuals, which achieves the success mentioned in the Qur'anic statement:

﴾*Indeed he succeeds who purifies his ownself.*﴿

(Ash-Shams: 9)

- and a public spirit that supervises every individual in the Muslim *Ummah*, whether he is a ruler or a subject, and whose foundation is the Qur'anic verse:

﴾*But seek, with that which Allah has bestowed on you, the home of the Hereafter, and forget not your portion of legal enjoyment in this world, and do good as Allah has been good to you, and seek not mischief in the land. Verily, Allah*

likes not the Mufsidun (those who commit great crimes and sins, oppressors, tyrants, mischief-makers, corrupts). ﴾

(Al-Qasas: 77)

We want

a Muslim individual, a Muslim home, a Muslim people, a Muslim government, and a Muslim state that leads the other Muslim states, unites the divided Muslims, restores their glory, returns their occupied and usurped lands, then bears the flag of *jihad* and the standard of *da`wah* to Allah, so that the whole world will find happiness with the instructions of Islam.

Our instruments

This is our goal and this is our program, but what are our instruments for achieving this program?

Our instruments are the same instruments that were used by our righteous predecessors before, and the weapon with which our leader Muhammad, Allah's Messenger (pbuh), and his Companions invaded the world, along with their small number, limited supplies, and great effort. It is the weapon that we shall bear to invade the world again. They had the strongest and deepest belief in Allah and His help:

﴿ *If Allah helps you, none can overcome you...* ﴾

(Al `Imran: 160)

They believed in their leader (pbuh) and his truthfulness and trustworthiness:

﴿ *Indeed in the Messenger of Allah (Muhammad) you have a good example to follow...* ﴾

(Al-Ahzab: 21)

They believed in the Divine program, provided in the Qur'an, and in its value and fitness:

﴾*Indeed, there has come to you from Allah a light (Prophet Muhammad) and a plain Book (this Qur'an) wherewith Allah guides all those who seek His Good Pleasure to ways of peace...*﴿

(Al-Ma'idah: 15-16)

They believed in fraternity, its greatness and sanctity:

﴾*The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic religion)...*﴿

(Al-Hujurat: 10)

They believed in reward, its glory, greatness, and abundance:

﴾*That is because they suffer neither thirst nor fatigue, nor hunger in the Cause of Allah, nor they take any step to raise the anger of disbelievers nor inflict any injury upon an enemy but is written to their credit as a deed of righteousness. Surely, Allah wastes not the reward of the Muhsinun (doers of good).*﴿

(At-Tawbah: 120)

In their own right: they were the group that Allah chose to save the worlds with, and recorded this virtue for them, so they were the best generation.

They believed in Allah and we wish that Allah would endear this belief to us and beautify it in our hearts, as He endeared it to them and beautified it in their hearts before, for belief is our first instrument.

They certainly knew that their call would never gain victory except with striving and sacrificing one's soul and property, so they sacrificed their souls and property, and strove hard in the cause of Allah with sincerity and with all their effort. They heard the Divine call:

> ﴿*If your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, and the dwellings in which you delight... are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger, and striving hard and fighting in His Cause, then wait until Allah brings about His Decision (torment)...*﴾
>
> (At-Tawbah: 24)

Therefore, they responded to the call and went forth striving in the cause of Allah, leaving everything behind, satisfied, content, and rejoicing in the bargain which they had concluded with Allah.

One of them received death exclaiming that he was running to Allah without any worldly provision (as his provision was piety, faith, and belief). Another spent all his property saying that he had left Allah and His Messenger for his children. And another said while a sword was on his neck, 'I do not mind in what way I should be killed, as long as I am killed as a Muslim.'

In short, their life was: truthfulness, *jihad*, sacrifice, and offering one's best. So let us try to follow in their footsteps, for *jihad* is also one of our instruments.

After all, we are sure that Allah will help us and support our cause, because:

> ﴿*... Verily, Allah will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allah is All-Strong, All-Mighty. Those who, if We*

give them power in the land, (they) order for Iqamat-as-Salat. [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational prayers], to pay the Zakah and they enjoin Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islam has forbidden). And with Allah rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures). ﴾

(Al-Hajj: 40-41)

Between imagination and reality

Those who will hear this speech may say that it is merely imagination, or that it is illusion or conceit. They may wonder: How can those who have nothing but belief and *jihad* resist these unified powers with their various weapons? How can they obtain their rights while being completely grasped by these mighty hands? Many people may say this, and perhaps they have some excuse, since they have despaired of their own selves as well as of their connection to the Almighty. However, we say that this is the reality that we believe in and work for, while recalling Allah's statement:

﴿ *And do not be weak in the pursuit of the enemy; if you are suffering (hardships) then surely, they (too) are suffering (hardships) as you are suffering, but you have a hope from Allah (for the reward, i.e. Paradise) that for which they hope not...* ﴾

(An-Nisa': 104)

Our righteous predecessors, who conquered the world and whom Allah gave power in the land, were not larger in number or greater in instruments than us, but they were true believers

and active strivers in the cause of Allah. Today we will consider what the Prophet (pbuh) considered when he said, "*Give glad tidings to Khubayb that this matter (i.e. Islam) will prevail (to the extent) that a traveler from Aden to Oman will fear none but Allah, or a wolf as regards his sheep*" - At that time Muslims used to keep themselves out of sight - and when he (pbuh) promised that Suraqah ibn Malik would have the two armlets of Khosrau, although he was emigrating with his religion having none with him but Allah and his Companion (Abu Bakr); and when he promised the Muslims that they would get the white Roman palaces while the polytheists were besieging him in his city with soldiers from above the Muslims and from below them ﴾*... when the eyes grew wild and the hearts reached to the throats...*﴿ (Al-Ahzab: 10).

Then what happened after that?

The Prophet's call and the Qur'anic verses were widely heard, the light of guidance, springing from the hearts of the Prophet's Companions and their followers, shone everywhere, peace prevailed throughout the world, people tasted the sweetness of happiness through the justice of Muslim rulers, subjects were safe in the shade of this first generation, the disciples of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), the Roman palaces were opened for the Muslims, the Persian lands surrendered to them, and the whole world submitted satisfactorily to the guidance of salvation, which is absorbed with Allah's Mercy and the glory of Prophethood and Divine Revelation.

﴾*And Allah drove back those who disbelieved in their rage, they gained no advantage. Allah sufficed for the believers in the fighting. And Allah is Ever All Strong, All Mighty. And*

those of the people of the Scripture who backed them (the disbelievers) Allah brought them down from their forts and cast terror into their hearts, (so that) a group (of them) you killed, and a group (of them) you made captives. And He caused you to inherit their lands, and their houses, and their riches, and a land which you had not trodden (before). And Allah is Able to do all things. ﴾

(Al-Ahzab: 25-27)

We will regard all these things as part of our instruments and, Allah willing, we will gain victory as our predecessors did before, and after all, there is no victory except from Allah, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise. And, Allah will fulfil for us His promise (that is involved in the following verses):

﴿*And We wished to do a favour to those who were weak (and oppressed) in the land, and to make them rulers and to make them the inheritors, and to establish them in the land...* ﴾

(Al-Qasas: 5-6)

﴿*So be patient (O Muhammad). Verily, the Promise of Allah is true, and let not those who have no certainty of faith, discourage you from conveying Allah's Message.* ﴾

(Ar-Rum: 60)

If we had a government...

If we had an Islamic government, which is true in faith and independent in thinking and implementation, knows well the greatness of the treasure that it has and the glory of the Islamic system that it has inherited, and believes that this system

contains the remedy of its people and guidance for all people, we would be encouraged to ask it to call the whole world in the name of Islam, to demand the other countries to make research on and contemplate about this religion, and to drive them towards it through persistent calling and convincing as well as proof and successive missions, in addition to other means of invitation and information. Moreover, such a government would acquire a spiritual, political, and practical standing among the other governments and would be able to revive the vitality of the people, push them towards glory and light, and incite eagerness, seriousness, and activity within their hearts.

It is ironic that there is a state that adopts Communism, calls for it, spends wealth in its cause, and drives people to follow it, that there are nations that sanctify Fascism and Nazism, strive in their cause, and submit all vital systems to their instructions, and that there are strong advocators who support different social and political parties and schools, devoting their souls, thoughts, writings, property, newspapers, and efforts to them, while there is no Islamic government that fulfils the duty of calling to Islam, which contains the advantages of all these systems and is void of all their disadvantages. There is no Islamic government that introduces Islam to the other nations as a universal system that provides an obvious, comfortable, and sound solution to all human problems, although Islam made *da`wah* an obligatory duty that all Muslims, nations and groups, must fulfil, even before these systems were created and before people knew the system of propaganda and publicity.

﴿*Let there arise out of you a group of people inviting to all that is good (Islam), enjoining Al-Ma`ruf (i.e. Islamic*

Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do) and forbidding Al-Munkar (polytheism and disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden). And it is they who are the successful. ﴾

(Al `Imran: 104)

But, how can our rulers do so, while all of them were raised amongst foreigners, and they now adopt their ideologies, are following in their footsteps, and competing against one another to please them? Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that the idea of independence as regards the disposition of affairs and activities has never come to their minds, apart from taking it as a program of their activity.

We expressed this wish before many statesmen and rulers of Egypt, but it was not strange that none of them took it seriously. Men who have no relation with Islam regarding their selves, homes, private and common affairs, are too unable to secure this relation for others, or to call others to Islam, as one cannot give what one does not possess.

This is not their mission, Brothers, for experiments have proven that they are absolutely unable to do so. Rather, it is the mission of the new generation, so raise them well, and spare no effort to prepare them, teach them independence of the soul and heart, independence of thought and mind, and independence of *jihad* and movement, fill their bouncing souls with the glory of Islam and the greatness of the Qur'an, and make them strive under the standard of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and you will soon see that from among them will be a true Muslim ruler who will do his best to make others happy.

The nature of our idea

O Muslim Brothers! O all people!

We are not a political party, even though politics, which is based on Islamic rules, is an integral part of our idea, nor are we a reformatory, charitable society, even though reform and charitable activities are from among our greatest objectives, nor are we sporting teams, even though physical and spiritual sports are from among our most important means. We are none of these forms, for they are all justified by certain goals and restricted to limited times, and they may be established only for the sake of establishing a body and gaining management titles therein.

But you people should know that we are an idea and a creed, a system and a program, which is not limited to a place, restricted by a race, hindered by a geographical boundary, or ended by anything whatsoever until the Day of Resurrection. This is because it is the system of the Lord of the worlds and the program of His faithful Messenger (pbuh).

We are - without pride - followers of the Prophet (pbuh), bearers of his standard after him as his Companions bore it, and propagators of his religion as they propagated it, memorizers of the Qur'an as they memorized it, callers to his Message as they called to it, and a mercy from Allah to all the worlds:

﴿*... And you shall certainly know the truth of it after a while.*﴾

(Sad: 88)

O Muslim Brothers!

This is what you are, so do not depreciate yourselves or compare yourselves to others, or balance between your Call, which derives its light from the Light of Allah and its program from the program of His Messenger, and other calls which are justified by necessities and consumed by events and time. You have already witnessed the result of your calling and strife-sounds exclaiming with the leadership of Allah's Messenger, supremacy of the Qur'an, necessity of work and movement, and making one's goal only for the sake of Allah. This success exceeds your expectations, so continue working and Allah will be with you and will not render vain your deeds.

Accordingly, whoever follows us now has won; whoever does not follow us from among the faithful will join us soon, but those who have joined us before him will enjoy the merit of precedence; and whoever turns away from our Call out of considering it insignificant, or out of mockery or despair of victory, will someday know how wrong he is and Allah will prove that we are right.

So join us, O active believers and faithful strivers, for here is the straight path, and do not waste your energy and efforts:

> ﴿*And verily, this is my Straight Path, so follow it, and follow not (other) paths, for they will separate you away from His Path. This He has ordained for you that you may become Al-Muttaqun (the pious).*﴾

(Al-An`am: 153)

Hasan al-Banna

Glossary

`Awrah: A part of one's body, which is illegal to keep naked before others.

AC: After Christ.

AH: After *Hijrah* (The Prophet's Emigration to Madinah).

Al-Ikhwan (or **Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun**): This word can be used to refer both to Muslim Brothers (members of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization) and to the Organization itself.

Awliya': The Arabic word *waliyy*, the singular of *awliya'* has many different meanings, such as guardian, protector, and friend. *Awliya'*, as used in this book, may be generally defined as the ones who believe in the Oneness of Allah and fear Him much, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds which He has forbidden.

Bay`ah: Pledge of allegiance. In this book, this term is confined to the pledge of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization in the form identified in the tract *The Teachings*.

Bid`ah: Any newly-innovated matter in religion.

***Da`iyah*** **(Pl. *Du`ah*):** A Muslim who shoulders the responsibility of *da`wah*.

Da`wah: This word involves the meaning of calling people to Islam through the best and most suitable means.

Fatwa: A legal judgment issued by a scholar of *Fiqh* .

Fiqh: The science which deals with Islamic Jurisprudence.

Fiqhi: Pertaining to *Fiqh*.

Hadith: This word refers to any of the traditions of the Prophet (pbuh), which contain his sayings and practices. It also refers to the science concerned with these traditions; this is always used with capital initial (*Hadith*).

Hadith Qudsi: *Hadith* in which the Prophet (pbuh) told something from Allah the Almighty.

Jihad: Fighting in the cause of Allah or any kind of effort to make Allah's word superior, which is regarded as one of the principles of Islam.

Jizyah: Head-tax imposed by Islam on the People of the Book, and other people who have a revealed Book (non-Muslims), when they are under the Muslim rule.

Riba: In Islam, *riba* (commonly known as usury) is of two major kinds: (a) *Riba an-Nasi'ah*, i.e. interest on lent money; (b) *Riba al-Fadl*, i.e. taking a superior thing of the same kind of goods by giving more of the same kind of goods of inferior quality.

***Shar`i***: (Adjective): pertaining to *Shari`ah* (Islamic Law).

Sunnah: All the traditions and practices of the Prophet (pbuh) that have become a model to be followed by Muslims. Also, the word *sunnah* can be used to refer to an act of the *Sunnah*.

Ummah: This word refers to the Muslim nations and communities all over the world, as one entity.

Zakah: A certain fixed proportion of the wealth and of the each and every kind of property liable to *Zakah* of a Muslim to be paid yearly, for the benefit of the poor in the Muslim community. *Zakah* is one of the five pillars of Islam.



مطابع دار الطباعة والنشر الإسلامية/العاشر من رمضان/المنطقة الصناعية ب٢ تليفاكس : ٣٦٢٣١٣ - ٣٦٣٣١٤

Printed in Egypt by ISLAMIC PRINTING & PUBLISHING Co. Tel:. 015 / 363314 - 362313

the way to the

REVIVAL

of the muslim ummah

The revival of the Muslim Ummah was the main project of the martyr, Imam Hasan al-Banna. This book is a preliminary attempt to understand the bases on which he undertook this project as seen from his tracts, memoires, lectures, attitudes, and practices, as well as from the condition of the society during his lifetime, its symbols, current issues and circumstances. In order to present a clear picture, the author has undertaken a thorough presentation, study, and analysis of all that which Imam al-Banna wrote or said concerning these issues. He seeks to define, identify, and unify terms and concepts used within the framework of the project; to keep up with new issues, elements, and developments; and to remove obstacles from the path to true revival.

Born in Egypt in 1937, ***Abdel Hamid Hasan El-Ghazali*** studied economics and political science at the University of Alexandria before earning a Ph.D. in the UK in 1968. Since then, he has been teaching at the University of Cairo, with periods spent as a visiting professor at such universities as Umm Durman Islamic University, Kuwait University, King Abdul Aziz University and Umm al-Qura. He served as advisor to the International Islamic Bank for Investment and Development and as director of its Islamic Economics and Information Centre. He is currently director of the Islamic Research and Training Institute of the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah. His publications include: *The Rule of Change and the Islamic Solution*, *Man as the Basis of the Islamic Development Strategy* and *Conditions of Islamic Culture: An Islamic Perspective*.



Al-Falah is an institution devoted to developing a better understanding of Islam among all the people of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim. Of all religions, Islam is the most maligned and misunderstood in the West. Though Oriental Studies have long been established in European and American universities, *real* Islam has seldom been presented to the world. Our aim is to clear the way for a fair appraisal of the fastest-growing religion in the world.

Cover design by Xadijah Garrett